7/6 net

18598
No.

Stoke Newington
Public Libraries

CENTRAL LENDING LIBRARY

Borrowers are requested to make themselves familiar with the Rules and Regulations of the Library, a copy of which may be had on application.

LONDON BOROUGH OF LEWISHAM
LIBRARY SERVICE

Author

Title

BOOK STORE

Books or discs must be returned on or before the last date stamped on label or on card in book pocket. Books or discs can be renewed by telephone, letter or personal call unless required by another reader. After library hours use the Ansafone Service (01-698 7347). For hours of opening and charges see notices at the above branch, but note that all lending departments close at 1 pm on Wednesday and all libraries are closed on Sundays, Good Friday, Christmas Day, Bank Holidays and Saturdays prior to Bank Holidays.

METROPOLITAN
SPECIAL COLLECTION

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/originofenglishn0000hmun_f7d3

Cambridge Archaeological and Ethnological Series

THE ORIGIN OF THE ENGLISH NATION

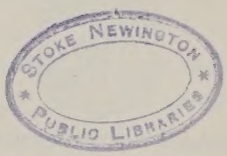
The Cambridge Archaeological and Ethnological Series is supervised by an Editorial Committee consisting of WILLIAM RIDGEWAY, *M.A., F.B.A., Disney Professor of Archaeology,* A. C. HADDON, *Sc.D., F.R.S., University Lecturer in Ethnology,* M. R. JAMES, *Litt.D., F.B.A., Provost of King's College, and* C. WALDSTEIN, *Litt.D., Slade Professor of Fine Art.*

942:15

THE ORIGIN OF THE ENGLISH NATION

BY

H. MUNRO CHADWICK,
Fellow of Clare College, Cambridge



G 18598
476

CAMBRIDGE:
at the University Press
1907

WITHDRAWN FROM THE
STOKE NEWINGTON
PUBLIC LIBRARIES

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE,
C. F. CLAY, MANAGER,
London: FETTER LANE, E.C.
Glasgow: 50, WELLINGTON STREET.

Leipzig: F. A. BROCKHAUS.
New York: G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS.
Bombay and Calcutta: MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD.

[*All Rights reserved.*]

PREFACE.

THIS book attempts to give an account of the early history of the English nation, so far as the information at our disposal permits. The author ventures to hope that in spite of its many shortcomings it may serve to call attention to a field of investigation which, though rich in promise, has been greatly neglected, especially in this country. In general he has sought to make use of all branches of ethnological study—history, tradition, language, custom, religion and antiquities. Owing however to the backwardness of archaeological research throughout the north of Europe, except in Denmark and Sweden, it has not been found possible to treat the last of these subjects in a manner at all commensurate with its true importance. When this branch of study has been developed it will perhaps be possible to obtain more light on the affinities of the English nation in times anterior to those to which the earliest heroic traditions refer. At present, it need hardly be said, we have little definite evidence available for that early period, and any investigation that is made must necessarily partake more or less of a hypothetical character.

The author desires to express his thanks to a number of friends, including Dr A. C. Haddon and Prof. W. Ridgeway (members of the Editorial Committee supervising the series), Dr J. G. Frazer, Mr E. Magnússon, Dr W. H. R. Rivers, Mr A. B. Cook, Mr G. T. Lapsley, Miss M. Bentinck Smith, Mr W. F. Reddaway and Mr E. H. Minns, for the assistance

which they have kindly rendered him in various ways. He is especially indebted to Dr Frazer, who has read through the greater part of the last three chapters and given him the benefit of his own unrivalled knowledge of primitive rites and customs. Further, he is under great obligations to Miss A. C. Paues, Mr E. C. Quiggin, Miss B. S. Phillpotts, Mr A. Mawer and Mr F. G. M. Beck for the generous manner in which they have assisted him in revising the work for press and for many valuable suggestions and criticisms. His thanks are due also to Baron A. von Hügel and the staff of the University Museum of Ethnology, to the staff of the University Library (especially Mr A. Rogers and Mr O. Johnson) and to the Librarians of Trinity and Corpus Christi Colleges, for the kindness and courtesy which he has constantly received at their hands. Lastly, he has to thank the Syndics of the University Press for undertaking the publication of the book and the staff for the efficient and obliging way in which the printing and corrections have been carried out.

H. M. C.

December 1906.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	England in the sixth century	1
II.	The West Saxon invasion	20
III.	The invasion of Kent	35
IV.	The Saxons, Angles and Jutes in Britain	54
V.	The Saxons, Angles and Jutes on the Continent	90
VI.	The Kings of Angel	118
	Note. The early kings of the Danes	146
VII.	The age of national migrations	153
VIII.	The Saxons and Angles in Roman times	192
IX.	The classification of the ancient Germani	207
X.	The cult of Nerthus	234
XI.	King Aethelwulf's mythical ancestors	269
XII.	Social condtiions of the Roman period	303
	Addenda	345
	Index	347

MAPS.

England at the end of the sixth century	*to face page*		11
N.W. Germany, Holland, etc. at the beginning of the sixth century	„	„	112
The northern part of Ptolemy's Germania	„	„	194
N.W. Germany etc. in the first century	„	„	205

CHAPTER I.

ENGLAND IN THE SIXTH CENTURY.

In the year 597 there arrived in this country a mission sent by Pope Gregory the Great for the evangelisation of the English people. Aethelberht the king of Kent, to whom they had made their way, quickly embraced the Christian faith and gave them a habitation in his capital, Canterbury.

It is with these events that our knowledge of English history begins. There can be little doubt that some kind of a register of important events began to be kept in one or other of the Kentish monasteries even during the lifetime of the missionaries; for there are a number of entries in both English and Continental chronicles which can hardly be explained otherwise. The establishment of bishoprics in other parts of the country led to the formation of similar records elsewhere. Consequently we are able, chiefly by means of Bede's collections, to construct a fairly connected history of most of the English kingdoms during the greater part of the seventh century.

When we turn to the sixth century however the case is very different. No contemporary records of that period have been preserved and it is more than probable that none such were ever kept. No doubt the remembrance of important events was long retained by oral tradition. But neither the missionaries nor their immediate successors for the most part seem to have cared to record these traditions. Except in the case of Wessex and Northumbria our knowledge of the sixth century is almost a blank. We do not even know how many kingdoms existed at this time. It will be best therefore to begin our enquiry by

examining the political divisions of the country as they severally come before our notice.

Kent at the time of Augustine's arrival was at the height of its power and its king was supreme over all the English kings south of the Humber. But there seems to be no reason for supposing that the boundaries of the Kentish kingdom itself differed materially from those of the present county. The only doubtful question is whether Surrey was included in it. If, as appears probable, the name Surrey really means 'southern district,' it would seem to follow that, originally at all events, the territory in question belonged not to Kent but to Essex.

Sussex was another kingdom which probably corresponded more or less to the present county of that name, though it may have extended further to the west. The story of its colonisation is given in the Chronicle (ann. 477, 485, 491), but how far we are to regard this account as worthy of credence it is impossible to say. Aelle, who according to the Chronicle was the founder and first king of Sussex, is said by Bede (Hist. Eccl. II. 5) to have been the first king who possessed supremacy (*imperium*) over all the other kings south of the Humber. In later times Sussex was frequently involved in war with Wessex, and on one occasion (A.D. 685) it interfered in a dynastic struggle in Kent. On the whole, however, its influence in the historical period was slight.

On the other hand the area of the kingdom of Essex was certainly greater than that of the modern county. Originally it included part, if not the whole, of Middlesex. Bede (Hist. Eccl. II. 3) speaks of London as the capital (*metropolis*) of Essex at the beginning of the seventh century, and even as late as the year 704 we find Twickenham in the hands of an East Saxon king (Birch, Cart. Sax. 111). We have already seen that the name Surrey is an argument for supposing that that county also originally belonged to the same kingdom. How far it extended towards the north we have no means of ascertaining. In later times the diocese of London included part of Hertfordshire as well as Essex and Middlesex; but it is by no means certain that the eastern dioceses, as restored after the great Danish invasion, retained their original dimensions. Quite

possibly the whole of Hertfordshire may once have been included in the kingdom of Essex. The western part of the kingdom seems to have been annexed by the Mercians in the course of the eighth century.

The dimensions of Wessex at the end of the sixth century are still more uncertain. We hear of wars between Wessex and Essex shortly after the death of Aethelberht (Hist. Eccl. II. 5) and again at the beginning of the eighth century (Birch, C. S. 115). The two kingdoms must therefore have been conterminous. According to the Chronicle, Cuthwulf, who was apparently a West Saxon prince, fought against the Britons in the year 571 at a place called *Bedcanford* and captured four villages called *Lygeanburg*, *Aegelesburg* (Aylesbury), *Baenesingtun* (Bensington) and *Egonesham* (Eynsham). It is clear that part of Oxfordshire belonged to Wessex during the seventh century, for Dorchester (Oxon.) was for some time the seat of the West Saxon bishopric. Indeed it was probably not till the time of Offa (cf. Chron. 777) that the Thames became the northern frontier of Wessex. But if we are to believe the story of Cuthwulf's campaign its territories to the north of the river must once have been very considerable.

On the other hand it is likely that the territories of Wessex south of the Thames were considerably enlarged in the course of the seventh century. Somerset indeed seems to have been entirely Welsh until the middle of the century. Thus according to the Chronicle Coenwalh fought against the Welsh in 652 at Bradford-on-Avon and again in 658 at a place (*aet Peonnum*) which is probably either identical with Penselwood or at least in the same neighbourhood. To the conquest of Dorset we have no certain reference, but if Penselwood was on or near the frontier it is not likely that a very large part of that county was then in English hands. On the whole it seems probable that at the beginning of the century the southern part of Wessex contained no more than the counties of Hampshire, Wiltshire and Berkshire. Even then however, if we take into account the districts north of the Thames, the size of the kingdom must have been considerable.

There are still two questions which require to be discussed

with reference to the area of early Wessex. In the first place it is not certain that the whole of Hampshire was included in this kingdom. According to Bede (H. E. IV. 16) the Isle of Wight had in the time of Ceadwalla (685–688) a royal family of its own under a king named Arwald. Ceadwalla made and carried out a vow to destroy the whole population of the island and to colonise it with people from his own kingdom. According to another passage (ib. IV. 13) the Mercian king Wulfhere, who died in 675, had given the Isle of Wight, together with "the province of the *Meanuari*[1] in the nation of the West Saxons," as a christening gift to Aethelwalh, king of Sussex. The conquest of the island by Wulfhere is mentioned in the Chronicle and dated 661. Now according to the Chronicle Wulfhere was at war with Wessex at this time. It is possible therefore that the island was wrested from Wessex by Wulfhere and that Ceadwalla's subsequent conquest was really a recovery of what had previously belonged to his dynasty—a hypothesis which might perhaps account for his savage treatment of the population. Arwald and his family would then be in some way the successors of Aethelwalh. But this explanation is hardly favoured by Bede's language. The manner in which he speaks of episcopal jurisdiction over the island in IV. 16 and V. 23 and especially the words *erumna externae subiectionis* in the former passage seem to show that he regarded it as quite distinct from the rest of Wessex. Again in I. 15 he states that the inhabitants were of a different stock from the West Saxons. The latter, like the South Saxons and the East Saxons, had come from the land of the Old Saxons, whereas the inhabitants of Wight together with those of Kent were descended from the Jutes. If we compare these statements we can hardly avoid concluding that in Bede's opinion the people of Wight and the West Saxons were different nations.

But, further, it appears that the Jutes in this quarter were not confined to the island. In I. 15 Bede speaks of "the tribe which is still called *Iutarum natio* in the territory of the West Saxons, occupying a position just opposite the Isle of Wight." In IV. 16

[1] East and West Meon and Meonstoke, Hampshire (Stevenson in Poole's Historical Maps).

he gives more definite information as to their position. The river Hamble (*Homelea*) ran through their territories and a place called *ad Lapidem*, not far from *Hreutford*, was also in their land. It is generally supposed that these places are Stoneham and Redbridge. Again, Florence of Worcester, when describing the death of William Rufus, says that the king was hunting "in the New Forest which is called *Ytene* in the English language" (*quae lingua Anglorum Ytene nuncupatur*). This word can hardly be anything else than a later form of *Ytena* (*land*) which renders Bede's *Iutorum* (*prouinciam*) in a MS.[1] of the English version of the Ecclesiastical History (IV. 16). But if we accept these statements it will appear probable that the whole of the coast of Hampshire was colonised by the Jutes. It is true that the evidence brought forward above is difficult to reconcile with the account of the West Saxon invasion given by the Chronicle. To this question however we shall have to return later. We need not suppose that the Jutes of the mainland remained independent of Wessex until the time of Ceadwalla. But if we attach any importance to Bede's evidence we must, I think, regard their settlement as originally distinct from that of the West Saxons.

The second question which requires consideration is the origin of the kingdom of the Hwicce. The boundaries of this kingdom are somewhat uncertain. But since the early bishoprics seem as a rule to have coincided with the kingdoms to which they were attached, it is probable that this kingdom was originally identical with the diocese of the Hwicce, known later as the diocese of Worcester. It would thus include Worcestershire, Gloucestershire and a large part of Warwickshire. When the kingdom first comes before our notice, under its kings Osric and Oshere, in the last quarter of the seventh century, it was already subject to Mercian supremacy. But according to the Chronicle at least part of it was originally conquered from the Welsh by the West Saxons. Thus in ann. 577 we hear that "Cuthwine and Ceawlin fought against the Welsh at a place called *Deorham* (probably Dyrham, Gloucestershire) and cap-

[1] C.C.C.C. 41. The other MSS. have *Eota land*. The form given in the late texts of the Chronicle (ann. 449) is *Iutna*.

tured three fortresses, Gloucester, Cirencester and Bath." In ann. 592 there is an entry which has been understood to refer to internal strife: "In this year there was a great slaughter at *Woddesbeorg*[1] and Ceawlin was expelled." It is possible of course that the newly conquered districts may have broken away at this time. But there is really nothing to show that the event recorded had anything to do with the Hwicce. It might just as well refer to a conquest of Wessex by Aethelberht. In 626 we find the West Saxons apparently disputing the supremacy of Britain with Edwin of Northumbria (cf. Bede, H.E. II. 9), from which we may infer that they were still a formidable power. It seems to me more probable that the separation of the Hwicce from Wessex took place after this campaign. In the year 628, according to the Chronicle, the West Saxon king Cynegils fought against Penda at Cirencester and subsequently came to terms with him. Quite possibly this entry refers to the same campaign which is mentioned by Bede, for Penda, whether he was already king or not, was probably in Edwin's service at this time. The genealogy of the Hwiccian dynasty is unfortunately lost. We do not know therefore whether they claimed to be of the same stock as the West Saxon royal family.

Mercia became the leading power in 642 and continued to hold that position, with a few short intervals, for nearly two centuries. According to the Chronicle Penda obtained the throne in 626, but from Bede's account it is clear that at this time Mercia must have been subject to the supremacy of Edwin. The only earlier king of whom we have definite information was Cearl (H.E. II. 14), Edwin's father-in-law, who must have been reigning before 617. It is quite possible however that the unknown Crida, whose death is recorded in the Chronicle, ann. 593, was Penda's grandfather. In later times Mercia included the whole of the country between the Thames and the Humber, with the exception of Essex and East Anglia. But the original kingdom must have been of much smaller dimensions. According to the Tribal Hidage (Birch, Cart. Sax. 297), a survey of uncertain age but anterior to the Danish invasions, "the country which was first called Mercia (*Myrcnaland*)"

[1] Woodborough, Wiltshire, according to Mr Stevenson (*l.c.*).

contained 30,000 hides, the same number as East Anglia. On the other hand Bede (H.E. III. 24) gives 7000 hides to the North Mercians and 5000 hides to the South Mercians. The discrepancy between the two authorities may be due either to increase of population or to a difference in the unit of computation. It is possible to locate within somewhat vague limits the situation of this original Mercia. Bede (ib.) says that the South Mercians were separated from the North Mercians by the Trent, and again (IV. 3) that the seat of the Mercian bishopric even in Wulfhere's time was at Lichfield. Tamworth, at all events from the reign of Offa onwards (cf. Birch, Cart. Sax. 239, 240 etc.), was the chief residence of the Mercian kings. It can hardly be doubted therefore that South Mercia corresponded to the southern parts of Staffordshire, Derbyshire and (probably) Nottinghamshire, together with the northern parts of Warwickshire and Leicestershire. Shropshire can hardly have been included in it; for in the Tribal Hidage it seems to occur as a separate item (*Wocensetna*, *Porcensetene*, for *Wrocensetna*). As for the North Mercians, it is clear from Bede's words that they must be located in the northern parts of Staffordshire, Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire. The name *Mercii* (*Merce*) seems to show that this kingdom had once lain on the frontier, though whether this was still the case at the end of the sixth century it is impossible to say with certainty. Chester however was still in the hands of the Welsh at this time, and according to the Historia Brittonum, § 63, the Welsh kingdom of Elmet (in the West Riding) lasted until the reign of Edwin. The hypothesis is therefore very probable. In that case we shall have to conclude that Shropshire and Herefordshire as well as Cheshire were not conquered by the English before the seventh century.

The kingdom of East Anglia came into prominence under its king Redwald, probably not very long before Aethelberht's death. It is frequently mentioned by Bede, but unfortunately neither he nor any other early writers give precise information as to how far it extended towards the west and south. The kingdom lasted till the great Danish invasion (A.D. 870), but after Bede's time its history is almost a blank. A genealogy of

its royal family down to the first half of the eighth century is preserved in a number of texts.

Between Mercia and East Anglia Bede gives the names of three other *prouinciae*, namely the *Lindisfari*, the *Gyruii* and the *Angli Mediterranei* or *Middil-Angli*. The position of the first of these causes no difficulty. It is the first province south of the Humber and reaches to the sea (II. 16); Bardney is situated in it (III. 11). It clearly corresponds therefore to the modern Lindsey, though it may of course have extended further to the west and south. A genealogy of its kings is preserved, but unfortunately none of the names can be identified. From the time of Edwin onwards it seems always to have been subject either to Northumbria or Mercia.

The position of the Gyrwe is not quite so clear. Bede (IV. 6) says that Peterborough was in their country, while according to the Hyde Register (ed. Birch, p. 88) Crowland lay *on middan Gyrwan fenne*. In the Tribal Hidage they are divided into North Gyrwe and South Gyrwe, each district containing 600 hides. Bede (IV. 19) says that Tondberht, the first husband of Aethelthryth, was a prince (*princeps*) of the South Gyrwe. The Isle of Ely, where Aethelthryth subsequently founded her convent, is said by Bede (ib.) to have contained 600 hides. According to Thomas of Ely, § 14 (Acta Sanctorum, 23 June, p. 508), Aethelthryth had obtained it as her dowry from Tondberht. If so the Isle of Ely and the land of the South Gyrwe are probably to be identified. But it is to be observed that Bede himself does not suggest that Aethelthryth had acquired the Isle of Ely in this way. On the contrary he says that Ely was in the *prouincia* of East Anglia. Again, in the Tribal Hidage we find East Anglia and the land of the South Gyrwe entered as distinct items. We must conclude then, I think, either that the East Anglian frontier fluctuated or that the statement made by Thomas of Ely is erroneous. Aethelthryth may have been presented with Ely by her own family, just as in later times we find the Mercian queen Aethelswith possessing lands in Wessex (Cart. Sax. 522).

The Angli Mediterranei are frequently mentioned by Bede in a way which leaves no doubt that he regarded them as quite

distinct from the Mercians. If they ever had a native line of kings however this line must have disappeared when they first come before our notice, in the year 653, for at that time Penda had given their throne to his son Peada. The dimensions of the kingdom are far from clear. From 737 onwards, and also for a short time during the seventh century, it had a bishopric of its own. The seat of this bishopric was established at Leicester at all events by the end of the eighth century. From Eddius, cap. 64 (cf. H. E. v. 19), it seems likely that Oundle also was in the Middle Anglian diocese. We may probably conclude then that the kingdom included parts at least of Leicestershire and Northamptonshire. But it may have extended much further to the south and east. In the Tribal Hidage the Middle Angli are not mentioned except in a note derived apparently from Bede (III. 21). But it may be observed that with two exceptions, *Pecsaetna* and *Elmedsaetna*—which are clearly to be located to the north of Mercia—all the small items given in the survey, i.e. all the items containing less than 2000 hides, belong to one or other of two groups. The first group immediately follows *Lindisfarona* (Lindsey) and begins with the North Gyrwe and South Gyrwe. It contains also a name *Spalda*, which has been connected with Spalding. The second group is separated from the former by five items with large hidages. It is in this second group that the name *Faerpinga* occurs with the note which states that it is in Middle Anglia. Several other items in it have been identified with places in Northamptonshire. Now the question is whether we are justified in regarding these two groups together as forming the Middle Angli. We may note that the total hidage of the two groups amounts to 10,800 hides as against 7000 hides for Lindsey and 30,000 for East Anglia. It is therefore by no means incredibly large.

It is true of course that the Gyrwe are themselves sometimes described as a *prouincia*. But this does not necessarily prevent us from believing that they formed part of the Middle Angli, for we find the same term used elsewhere for subdivisions of kingdoms, e.g. the *Meanuarorum prouincia* in H.E. IV. 13. We have seen that the Gyrwe occupied some of the fen-lands (Peterborough and Crowland) in the eastern Midlands. In Felix' Life

of St Guthlac however these districts seem to be included in Middle Anglia. Thus in § 14 it is stated that "there is a fen of immense size in the territories of the Mediterranei Angli in Britain. It begins at the banks of the river Granta not far from the castle which is called *Gronte* (Grantchester) and extends... northwards as far as the sea." From this passage we can hardly avoid concluding that Middle Anglia included a considerable part of Cambridgeshire, as well as Huntingdonshire, and hence that in all probability it bordered upon East Anglia. Further, it may be observed that we hear of no bishoprics in the eastern counties except those of Middle Anglia, Essex, Lindsey and the two in East Anglia. Yet, with the exception of the Isle of Wight—a case specially noted by Bede (cf. p. 4)—no kingdom of which we have any record disappeared without leaving a trace of itself in the form of a diocese or group of dioceses. Taking all the evidence into account therefore I am disposed to believe that Middle Anglia covered the whole space between Mercia and East Anglia and that it bordered not only on the latter but also on Essex and Wessex, while in the North it extended into Lincolnshire and perhaps also Nottinghamshire. The total figures therefore assigned to the two groups of small items in the Tribal Hidage are too small rather than too large for such a stretch of country, and it is at least doubtful whether some of the unknown larger items which occur between the two groups (*Ohtgaga*, *Noxgaga* and possibly *Hendrica*) may not also have belonged to Middle Anglia.

Northumbria in the latter part of the sixth century consisted of two kingdoms, Bernicia and Deira. When the union took place is not quite clear. The most probable date however seems to be 604–5, for according to the Historia Brittonum, § 63, Aethelfrith reigned only for twelve years in Deira. It is of course impossible to say how far English power extended to the west and north at this time. In the reign of Theodric, i.e. 572—579 according to the best authorities, the English are said to have been besieged by the Welsh in Lindisfarne (Hist. Brit., § 63). The first king of whom we know was Ida, who, according to chronological calculations accepted by Bede, began to reign in 547. The first known king of Deira was Aelle, the father of

ENGLAND
at the end
of the
Sixth Century
Lindisfarne
Bamborough
BERNICIA
DEIRA
York
LINDSEY
Humber
Trent
Ouse
Nene
Welland
Witham
Wash
Fens
Ely
Crowland
Peterborough
Grantchester
MERCIA
Lichfield
Tamworth
MIDDLE ANGLIA
EAST ANGLIA
Gloucester
Cirencester
Eynsham
Aylesbury
Dorchester
Sensington
London
ESSEX
Dyrham
WESSEX
Bath
Bradford
Woodborough
Hurstbourne
Salisbury
Penselwood
Stoneham
Redbridge
Southampton Water
Portsmouth
SUSSEX
Thanet
Canterbury
KENT
Romney Marsh
Hastings
Pevensey
Selsey
Chichester

Edwin. The dates assigned to his succession and death in the Chronicle are 560 and 588. But it is to be observed that we have no earlier evidence for these dates and that the North-umbrian chronology followed by the Chronicle clearly differed from that of the Appendix to the Moore MS. of Bede's History, which is our oldest and probably best authority. Bede himself gives no dates for Aelle's reign, but he speaks of him as being still king at the time of Augustine's arrival (De Temp. Ratione, cap. 66).

In the preceding pages we have endeavoured to determine the position of the various English kingdoms in the year 597. The results of our discussion will best be seen by the accompanying map; but it is hardly necessary to point out that the boundaries suggested must in many cases be regarded as extremely uncertain. It is in regard to the nature of the boundaries that my view differs most from those of previous writers. I find it difficult to believe that a people who invaded by sea would choose rivers as the boundaries of their kingdoms. The Danes at a later period certainly used the rivers as their high-ways, and it was by fortifying both banks and building bridges that Alfred and Edward the Elder eventually succeeded in bringing them into subjection. Is there any reason for supposing that the Saxons themselves originally acted differently from the Danes? We know that the Thames ran through Wessex and the Trent through the centre of Mercia. In historical times at all events the Severn formed no boundary. But, as a matter of fact, there is no single case where we can say with certainty that two kingdoms were originally separated by a river—estuaries of course excluded. In the Tribal Hidage *Haethfeldland*[1] is reckoned with Lindsey; but it is not certain that the latter lay entirely east of the Trent. The most likely case is perhaps the Stour; but we have really no information regarding the frontier of Essex and East Anglia before the tenth century. It is true that we find kingdoms divided into two parts by rivers, e.g. North Mercia and South Mercia and, in

[1] Hatfield Division, Nottinghamshire, and Hatfield Chase, Yorkshire, according to Mr Stevenson (*l.c.*).

later times, Norfolk and Suffolk. But that is obviously quite a different question. The convenience of utilising such natural divisions for administrative and fiscal purposes would easily be appreciated.

A generation earlier the area covered by the English kingdoms was probably much smaller. According to the Chronicle the conquests of Ceawlin in the southern Midlands had not then begun. What the position of the Mercians and Middle Angli was at this time it is quite impossible to say. Procopius however has a story (Goth. IV. 20), apparently derived from English sources, which though absurd in itself may perhaps be interpreted to mean that the invaders had not in his time succeeded in penetrating beyond the Roman Wall. If, as we have seen, their position in the neighbourhood of Bamborough was still somewhat precarious in 572—579, this is likely enough.

The accounts of the invasion so far as Kent and Wessex are concerned will be discussed in the following chapters. In regard to the establishment of the more northern kingdoms we are almost entirely without information. Were these kingdoms independent of one another from the beginning or did they come into existence through subsequent divisions? Did the invasions in the north take place at the same time or even in the same century as those in the south? From what point or points did the invasion begin? To all these questions we are almost entirely without answer. One view however which has been put forward ought I think certainly to be rejected, viz. that the invasion was carried out by small groups of adventurers acting independently of one another. It seems to me incredible that such a project as the invasion of Britain could have been carried out successfully except by large and organised forces.

Whatever may have been the case during the period of invasion, in later times at all events we usually find a number of kingdoms grouped together under one supreme head. At the end of the sixth century Aethelberht, king of Kent, had supremacy (*imperium*) over all the kings south of the Humber (H.E. II. 5). Ceawlin of Wessex had held the same position before him. Aethelberht again was succeeded in turn by Redwald of East Anglia and the Northumbrian kings Edwin,

Oswald and Oswio. Then from 659 to 825, with short intervals, the successive kings of Mercia held a similar position, though their authority seems as a rule not to have extended to Northumbria[1]. The nature of this supremacy has been much disputed. At any rate it was sufficient in Aethelberht's case to guarantee the safety of persons under his protection when visiting the farthest limit of English territory (ib. III. 2), apparently in the neighbourhood of Bristol or Bath. But it is at least a question whether this supremacy was not really a far more tangible thing than has generally been supposed[2]. Edwin is said to have held supremacy over all the English kingdoms except Kent. Are we to interpret this to mean that Kent, a comparatively small nation and one which was ruled by Edwin's own brother-in-law, was the only kingdom which refused to recognise his superior position? It is surely far more likely that in virtue of their relationship Edwin consented to deal with his brother-in-law on terms of equality, whereas by the remaining kings he was definitely recognised as 'lord and protector' (*hlaford and mundbora*)[3]. A recognition of this sort however, at least in lower ranks of life, always involved certain obligations and payments from the dependent to his superior; and we have no reason for doubting that this was the case also when both the contracting parties were kings. In later times the Mercian kings, Aethelred and his successors, certainly claimed rights of some kind over the lands belonging to the dependent kingdoms. Hence in Hwiccian, East Saxon, South Saxon and Kentish charters it is frequently stated that the Mercian king consents to or participates in the grant. Now when Bede (H.E. III. 7) describes the donation of Dorchester to Birinus, he distinctly states that it was given by 'both kings,'

[1] The supremacy of the Mercian kings is ignored by the Chronicle, ann. 827, but its existence is placed beyond doubt by charters (cf. Hist. Eccl. v. 23). It seems to have really begun under Penda, though it was interrupted for a time by that king's death.

[2] Of course the character of the supremacy may very well have varied from case to case. In general it seems to have been analogous to the position held by early Continental kings such as Maroboduus and Eormenric, to whom we shall have to return later.

[3] Occasionally the expression used is 'father and lord' (Chron. 924 A).

i.e. Cynegils of Wessex and Oswald of Northumbria. The fact that the latter participated in the grant must surely mean that, like the Mercian kings in later times, he possessed certain rights over the lands belonging to the dependent kingdoms—in short that he was entitled in some form or other to tribute from them. As a guarantee for such tribute and for obedience in general it was probably customary for the supreme king to take hostages from those under his suzerainty (cf. H.E. III. 24).

It may be noted that six of the seven supreme kings mentioned by Bede succeeded one another either immediately or after very short intervals. The whole period covered by their supremacy does not amount to a century; for, even according to the present text of the Chronicle, Ceawlin was not king of Wessex until 560, while Oswio's supremacy was lost in 659. But the first of the supreme kings, Aelle of Sussex, is widely separated from the rest. According to the Chronicle he came to Britain in 477 and the last time we hear of him is in the year 491. Of course it would be absurd to expect chronological accuracy in such a case as this. But if these dates are even approximately correct a very considerable time must have elapsed between Aelle's supremacy and that of Ceawlin. Hence there has been a general tendency to discredit the story of Aelle's supremacy. But, on the other hand, we may well ask why Bede, or the authority which he followed, should select such a person as the first supreme English king, unless he was following some old tradition. Of all the English kings of Bede's time those of Sussex were the least likely to aspire to imperial position. Moreover there is another circumstance which may quite possibly have some bearing on the story. Gildas at the close of his History states that he was forty-four years old, that he was born in the year of the siege of 'Mons Badonicus' and that during the intervening period there had been no war between the Britons and the Saxons. Unfortunately he does not give us the date of the siege. But in the Annales Cambriae, the authority of which seems in general to be good, it is entered under the year LXXII, i.e. probably A.D. 517[1]. All the Welsh

[1] If Gildas' History was really written at the same time as his Epistle the Annals must contain some error; for according to the same authority Maelgwn (king of

authorities represent it as a great disaster for the Saxons and, though the site of the battle has never been definitely decided, the presence of another entry, under the year CCXXI (*bellum Badonis secundo*), rather leads us to infer that the place remained in Welsh hands for a century and a half. Now if the dates assigned by the Chronicle to Aelle's conquests are at all near the truth, his supremacy must be placed before the battle of Mons Badonicus. Is it not possible that this defeat broke up the organisation of the invaders and that the peace of forty-four (or more) years which followed was due to their disunion? This would bring us to the time of Ceawlin, according to the dates given in the Chronicle. The story of the West Saxon invasion is of course a difficulty; to this subject however we shall have to return in the next chapter.

It has been mentioned above that we are almost entirely without information as to the date and course of the more northern invasions. The story of the arrival of Ida given in the De primo Saxonum Aduentu and the Welsh legend of the flight of St Samson from York can hardly be taken seriously into account until earlier and less precarious evidence is adduced in their favour. There is a passage however in Felix' Life of St Guthlac, § 4, which admits perhaps of a somewhat safer inference. The passage is as follows: "In the days of Aethelred, king of the Angli, there was a man of noble Mercian family named Penwall (Penwald), who by the course of events had come to reside in the territories of the Mediterranei Angli. He was descended from the ancient stock of Icel and his genealogy contained the names of famous kings." In the Old English version we find in place of the last sentence: "He was of the oldest and most noble family, who were called Iclingas." From Felix' words it is hardly possible to doubt that Penwald belonged to the Mercian royal family, and consequently that the Icel from whom he traced his descent was the person of that name who appears in the Mercian genealogy, five generations above Penda. Now in all other cases where we find similar expressions used

Gwynedd), who is spoken of as alive in the Epistle, died in 548. I cannot think that the date given for the siege by Bede (H.E. I. 16) is due to anything more than a misunderstanding of Gildas' words.

the ancestor from whom descent is claimed is believed to have reigned in Britain. Thus in the Preface to the Parker text of the Chronicle it is stated of several kings that they were descended from Cerdic. In the same way Bede and later writers say that the Northumbrian royal family were descended from Ida. Again Bede states that the Kentish royal family were called Oiscingas from Oisc, the son of Hengest (H. E. II. 5), and the East Anglian royal family Wuffingas from a king named Wuffa (ib. II. 15). All these persons were believed either to have taken part in the invasions or to have lived subsequently. In no case do we find a dynasty deriving its name from an ancestor who lived in earlier times. Consequently we seem to be justified in concluding that, according to tradition at least, Icel also reigned in Britain.

This being the case it is worth while to endeavour to ascertain the date of Icel's lifetime, though we have no evidence except the genealogies available for the purpose. Now Icel is separated from Penda by four names, Cnebba, Cynewald, Crioda and Pypba, the third of whom is possibly the person whose death is recorded in the Chronicle, ann. 593. According to the Chronicle Penda began to reign in 626 and was then fifty years old. His birth then must be dated about 576, and consequently, if we allow an average of thirty years for each generation, Icel's birth will have to be dated about 426. I confess however to a feeling of scepticism in regard to the date of Penda's birth. Setting aside the fact that his dealings with Oswio showed unusual vigour for a man of such advanced years, this date is difficult to reconcile with the ages of his children. Peada is represented as a young man about the year 653 (H.E. III. 21), Wulfhere was a child at his father's death (ib. III. 24) and Aethelred, who resigned in 704, was probably still younger. Again Coenwalh, who succeeded to the West Saxon throne in 642 and died a premature death about 673, married and subsequently divorced Penda's sister. In view of these facts I do not think that the statement of the Chronicle can be regarded as trustworthy, at all events until further evidence—and of earlier date—is forthcoming in its favour. From the information we possess, apart from this entry, it would be natural to date Penda's

birth about the beginning of the seventh century, which according to the same calculation would bring that of Icel to about 450. Even then however Icel's reign will probably fall into the fifth century.

We have already seen that there is no evidence for the existence of a separate royal family belonging to the Middle Angli. It is quite possible that the Mercians were an offshoot from the Middle Angli, but this of course cannot be proved. On the whole however the evidence seems to indicate that, whatever the locality of their kingdom, the ancestors of the Mercian dynasty were ruling in Britain, presumably somewhere in the Midlands, before the end of the fifth century.

In conclusion it will be convenient to notice briefly the evidence for communication between England and the Continent before the year 597. The fact that Aethelberht had obtained in marriage the daughter of the Frankish king Hariberht shows that somewhat intimate relations had already sprung up between Kent and the Frankish kingdom. The archaeological evidence allows us to carry this inference further. A large number of the brooches and other ornaments which have been found in heathen graves, especially in the South of England, appear to be of Frankish types. Among the brooches we may particularly note the disc-shaped and bird-shaped varieties and also those with radiated heads, all of which closely resemble the types used in Frankish districts. A considerable number of small gold coins (trientes) of Frankish pattern have also been found, but it is worth noting that most if not all of these are of a standard which only came into use after the year 576.

There can be little doubt that the chief source of communication between England and the Continent at this time was the slave-trade. From the well-known story of Pope Gregory the Great (H.E. II. 1) it appears that English slaves were obtainable in Rome before the year 592. Bede (ib. II. 3) speaks of London as a great resort of merchants who came thither both by land and sea; and that these were engaged, at least partly, in the slave-trade may be gathered from the story of the Frisian merchant in IV. 22. The practice of selling slaves to be shipped abroad is

forbidden in the laws of Ine, cap. 11, but the prohibition seems to apply only to the case of slaves who were of the same nationality as their owners. According to Wihtred's laws, cap. 26, it was one of the punishments which the king inflicted upon freemen caught in the act of stealing, while from the story mentioned above it may be inferred that in 678 even private persons were at liberty to dispose of captured enemies in this way. The trade must have been an extremely profitable one. For the value of the slave in England in Ine's time was only 60 shillings, i.e. probably a pound of silver, whereas the prices mentioned in the Continental laws are 20, 30 and 36 gold solidi, i.e. probably from three to six pounds of silver.

Procopius (Goth. IV. 20) states that there was a continuous flow of English emigration into the Frankish dominions during the reign of Theodberht (534–548), so much so indeed that the latter represented himself to Justinian as having some sort of authority over the island. We do not elsewhere find any evidence to bear out this statement, and it has been supposed that the migration was really one of Britons from the south-west of the island to Brittany. But if so Procopius was certainly misinformed. There are very few references in Anglo-Saxon poetry to Continental persons and events of the sixth century. Aelfwine's invasion of Italy is mentioned in Widsith (l. 70 ff.), and the same poem speaks (l. 24) of the Frankish king Theodric. References to persons belonging to the fifth century, Aetla (Attila), Guthhere, etc., are somewhat more frequent.

We hear very much more of Denmark and Sweden in the English traditions than we do of any Continental nations; but it is possible that this may be partly due to the fact that Beowulf is the only long poem which has been preserved. It is curious however that we hear of no Danish king later than Hrothwulf (Hrólfr Kraki) and no Swedish king later than Eadgils (Aðils) —two kings who were apparently contemporaries. Is it permissible to conclude that communication between England and the Baltic ceased in their time? Eadgils appears to have acquired the throne some time after the death of Hygelac, king of the Geatas (Götar), which probably took place about the year 520, while Hrothwulf was apparently reigning before

that time. It would not be safe of course to base any chronological argument on the fifty years' reign ascribed to Beowulf. If the suggestion put forward here is correct we shall have to suppose that communication with the northern kingdoms ceased before the middle of the sixth century. At all events we have no reason for supposing that England had any dealings with the North during the seventh and eighth centuries. The only hint of such communication is a passage in Bede's Commentary to the Fourth Book of Kings, XX. 9, in which he speaks of the midnight sun "in the island of Thyle, which is beyond Britain, or in the farthest borders of the Scythae." He states that this phenomenon is most abundantly vouched for "both by the histories of the ancients and by men of our own age who arrive from those countries." But even if this is an original statement it is hardly sufficient to prove direct communication between England and the North. Bede's information may have been derived ultimately from Frisians or even Picts.

Indeed there is very little evidence to show that the English were a seafaring people in the seventh and eighth centuries. We hear frequently of voyages across the Channel; but apart from this references to seafaring are extremely rare. After Edwin's death his family escaped by sea to Kent (H.E. II. 20). The conquest of the Isle of Man and Anglesey (ib. II. 9) by the same king implies a fleet of some kind, and so also the invasion of Ireland by Ecgfrith (ib. IV. 24); but these incidents seem to have been quite exceptional. Procopius (Goth. IV. 20) relates that an enormous English fleet attacked the land of the Warni on the Continent; but here of course the reference is to a much earlier period, the reign of Theodberht. On the whole the absence of evidence probably justifies us in believing that the habit of seafaring had been abandoned to a great extent before the end of the sixth century.

CHAPTER II.

THE WEST SAXON INVASION.

The story of the West Saxon invasion is given only by the Chronicle. Bede makes no reference to it; indeed Ceawlin is the first king of Wessex whom he mentions. Later writers seem to have had no other materials than the Chronicle. The story as it appears in the Chronicle is as follows:

495. Two princes[1], Cerdic and Cynric his son, came to Britain with five ships, (arriving) at a place which is called *Cerdicesora*, and the same day they fought against the Welsh.

501. Port and his two sons, Bieda and Maegla, came to Britain at a place which is called *Portesmutha* (Portsmouth) and slew a young British man, a very noble man.

508. Cerdic and Cynric slew a British king, whose name was Natanleod, and five thousand men with him. The district was afterwards (or "in consequence") called *Natanleag* as far as *Cerdicesford*.

514. The West Saxons, Stuf and Wihtgar, came to Britain with three ships, (arriving) at a place which is called *Cerdicesora*; and they fought against the Britons and put them to flight.

519. Cerdic and Cynric began to reign; and the same year they fought against the Britons at a place which is now called *Cerdicesford*.

527. Cerdic and Cynric fought against the Britons at a place which is called *Cerdicesleag*.

530. Cerdic and Cynric obtained possession of the Isle of Wight and slew a few men at *Wihtgaraesburg*.

[1] *Aldormen*, perhaps a translation of *principes*, cf. p. 26.

534. Cerdic died and his son Cynric continued to reign for twenty-six years. They had given the Isle of Wight to their two *nefan*[1], Stuf and Wihtgar.

544. Wihtgar died and was buried at *Wihtgaraburg*.

552. Cynric fought against the Britons at a place which is called *Searoburg* (Salisbury) and put the Britons to flight. Cerdic was Cynric's father. Cerdic was the son of Elesa, the son of Esla, the son of Giwis, the son of Wig, the son of Freawine, the son of Freothogar, the son of Brand, the son of Baeldaeg, the son of Woden.

556. Cynric and Ceawlin fought against the Britons at *Beranburg*[2].

560. Ceawlin succeeded to the throne in Wessex.

568. Ceawlin and Cutha fought against Aethelberht and drove him into Kent; and they slew two princes, Oslaf and Cnebba, at *Wibbandun*.

571. Cuthwulf fought against the Britons at *Bedcanford* and captured four villages, *Lygeanburg*, *Aegelesburg* (Aylesbury), *Baenesingtun* (Bensington) and *Egonesham* (Eynsham); and he died the same year.

577. Cuthwine and Ceawlin fought against the Britons and slew three kings, Coinmail, Condida and Farinmail, at a place which is called *Deorham* (Dyrham); and they captured three cities, *Gleawanceaster*, *Cirenceaster* and *Bathanceaster* (Gloucester, Cirencester and Bath).

584. Ceawlin and Cutha fought against the Britons at a place which is called *Fethanleag* and Cutha was slain; and Ceawlin captured many villages and countless booty and departed in anger to his own (territories).

591. Ceol reigned for five years.

592. There was a great slaughter at *Woddesbeorg* (cf. p. 6) and Ceawlin was expelled.

593. Ceawlin and Cwichelm and Crida perished.

[1] Since *nefa* means both "grandson" and "nephew," it may correctly denote relationship to two persons who were themselves father and son; cf. Stevenson, *Asser's Life of King Alfred*, p. 171.

[2] Identified by Prof. Earle with Barbury Camp between Swindon and Marlborough; cf. Plummer, *Two Saxon Chronicles*, II. 15.

It has long been a disputed question how far these annals deserve credence. One serious objection which has been brought against them is that all the place-names which occur until the mention of Salisbury in ann. 552 contain the names of the chief characters in the story. Thus Cerdic's name appears in *Cerdicesford*, which seems from Aethelweard's account to be Charford on the Avon, as well as in *Cerdicesora* and *Cerdicesleag*, which have not been satisfactorily identified. Natanleod's name appears in *Natanleag* (probably Nateley, Hampshire), Port's name in *Portesmutha* (presumably Portsmouth) and Wihtgar's name in *Wihtgaraesburg*. The analogy of similar stories in other lands would lead us to infer that the personal names had been created out of the place-names. Of course one such case by itself is inconclusive. *Wihtgaraesburg* may just as well have derived its name from Wihtgar[1] as *Bebbanburg* (Bamborough) from Queen Bebbe. It is the uniformity of the above list which excites suspicion.

Another objection has been based on the artificial system of chronology observable in the annals, an arrangement, so it is said, by fours and eights. To this however little importance is to be attached. If we compare Bede's Chronica Maiora (De Temporum Ratione 66) or the Annals of St Neots we shall find that many events are not precisely dated. Indeed there are entries in the Chronicle itself (e.g. ann. 643, 658) which make no attempt to fix precise dates for the events they record. It is quite possible therefore that in many entries the dates have been added at a later period. We may well ask how one could reasonably expect precise dates for events which occurred in the sixth century, i.e. at a time when presumably annalistic writing was unknown in England. The credibility of an event must therefore be judged independently of the date to which it is assigned. Let us take one typical case. Cynric is said to have fought against the

[1] The form *Wihtgarabyrg* in ann. 544 however does seem to me to suggest that there has been confusion between Wihtgar's name and a place-name *Wihtwaraburg* (cf. *Cantwaraburg*), in spite of the objections brought forward by Mr Stevenson (*op. cit.*, p. 173). I cannot admit that there is any satisfactory evidence for believing *gar* to have been an *u*-stem; for the form *aetgaru* in the Erfurt glossary is clearly a scribal error.

Britons at Salisbury in 552. This date may be due to some calculation either by the author or by a later scribe. But the correctness of the date is one question; whether the battle ever took place is quite another. In regard to the latter point it seems to me by no means improbable that we have a genuine tradition. In historical times Salisbury (Old Sarum) seems to have been a place of no great importance until the latter part of the tenth century. We hear of no assemblies being held there, nor does it appear to have been an administrative centre. During this period indeed it seems to have been quite overshadowed by Wilton. The motive therefore for selecting this place, if the story is an invention, was wanting. Yet the occurrence of the name *Sorbiodunum* in Antonine's Itinerary shows that fortifications of some kind existed in or before Roman times, and if any considerable part of the present remains is so old we might naturally expect that the natives would try to make a stand there.

A more serious difficulty is presented by the discrepancies within the Chronicle itself. In the Preface to the Parker text, which appears as a separate document in at least four other MSS.[1], a somewhat different account is given of the invasion. It is as follows: "In the year of Christ's Nativity 494 Cerdic and Cynric his son landed at *Cerdicesora* with five ships. Cerdic was the son of Elesa etc. (as in ann. 552). Six years after they landed they conquered the kingdom of Wessex. These were the first kings who conquered the land of Wessex from the Welsh. He held the kingdom sixteen years, and when he died his son Cynric succeeded to the kingdom and held it [twenty-six years. When he died his son Ceawlin succeeded and held it[2]] seventeen[3] years" etc.

It will be seen that this account differs in two important particulars from that given in the annals. In the first place Cerdic's reign is made to begin six years after the invasion, i.e.

[1] See Napier, *Modern Language Notes*, XII. p. 106 ff.; Plummer, *Two Saxon Chronicles*, Vol. I. pp. 2 f., 293, II. p. 1.

[2] Omitted in the Parker text.

[3] *Seofon* in two texts, cf. Napier, *l. c.*, Plummer, *op. cit.*, I. p. 293; but there can be little doubt that the other was the original reading.

in the year 500; his death therefore will have taken place in 516. On the other hand according to the annals he began to reign in 519 and died in 534[1]. Secondly, Ceawlin is made to reign only seventeen years, whereas according to the annals he reigned over thirty. In this point the Preface is supported by the Annals of St Neots. It is obvious that these variations leave a considerable part (about thirty-two years) of the sixth century to be accounted for. But there is a further and yet more serious difficulty. In the genealogy of Aethelwulf, towards the end of the Preface, Cynric is made the son of Creoda and grandson, not son, of Cerdic. If we turn to the same genealogy in ann. 855, we

[1] In explanation of this difficulty Mr Stevenson (*Asser's Life of King Alfred*, p. 159) has suggested that the king who died in 534 was really Creoda and that he had succeeded Cerdic about 516. But this suggestion practically involves the re-writing of the whole story, for Cerdic is never mentioned without Cynric. In the following pages I have thought it best to discuss the credibility of the story as a whole, apart from details and from the dates assigned to the various events recounted in it. In regard to arrangement I cannot help thinking that there is some connection with the story of the conquest of Kent. In both stories we have four battles between the natives and the invaders. Again, the interval, according to the Preface, between the landing and the acquisition of the sovereignty corresponds to the interval between 449 and 455; for in practice the former year was generally taken as the date of the invasion. Perhaps also it may be worth noting that the interval between the invasion and the death of the chief invader is the same (thirty-nine years) in both cases. The figures given in the Preface, apart from the initial date, seem to indicate a different chronology from that given in the annals. There can be little doubt that in the original text these figures were as follows: Cerdic 16, Cynric 26 or 27, Ceawlin 17, Ceol 6, Ceolwulf 17. With the accession of Cynegils (611) the discrepancy comes to an end. It will be seen that according to this reckoning Cerdic's acquisition of the sovereignty must be placed in the year 528 or 529, and his arrival consequently in 522 or 523. Now we may note that the latter date would be 494–495 according to the Cyclus Paschalis of Victorius of Aquitaine, and in the course of the next chapter we shall see that there is evidence for the use of this Cyclus in England for dates anterior to 532. What I would suggest then is that the original compiler of the annals, having of course no Paschal tables according to the Dionysian era available for dates earlier than 532, made use of Victorius' tables for his earliest dates; and that some subsequent scribe, who was not entering his annals on Paschal tables, overlooked the fact that the earliest entries were dated according to a different era. It is perhaps worth noting that according to the Dionysian system 495 and 514 (or 494 and 513 when reckoned *a Nativitate*) were the initial years of Paschal tables—a fact which may have contributed to the error. If this explanation is correct I should be inclined to suspect that ann. 514, 519 and 527 have arisen through arbitrary differentiation from ann. 495, 501 and 508.

shall see that this was clearly the original reading here[1]. Moreover it is not a mere scribal error in both cases, for we find the genealogy in the same form elsewhere, e.g. MS. C.C.C.C. 183[2] and the Textus Roffensis. Yet according to both the Preface and the annals Cynric was the son of Cerdic and took part with him in the invasion from the beginning.

In face of these difficulties it will be well for a moment to examine the composition of the Chronicle in order that we may be able better to estimate the historical value of these early entries. All the texts which we possess are descended from an archetype which appears to have been written in 891 or 892. This archetype however seems to have been merely an extended form of an older Chronicle, composed probably during the reign of Aethelwulf[3]. It is apparently from this older Chronicle that the earlier part of the Annals of St Neots is derived. The genealogy which we find in ann. 855 and in the Preface may very well have formed its close. But this older chronicle itself was a highly composite document. We can trace some of its constituent elements without much difficulty. There was in the first place the chronological summary which appears in Bede's Ecclesiastical History, v. 24, or a document very closely related to it. Secondly, there was a series of annals extending from Bede's death, or slightly earlier, to the time of Ecgberht, and perhaps originally intended as a continuation of that summary[4]. Thirdly, there were lists of Mercian and Northumbrian kings with their genealogies, derived from a text similar in character though not very closely related to those found in MS. C. C. C. C. 183 and the Textus Roffensis. Lastly, there was perhaps a short epitome of ecclesiastical history from the beginning of the Christian era to the year 110. These annals may however have been added in the time of Alfred.

[1] In the Parker text the name Creoda is omitted (no doubt intentionally) in both places.

[2] An edition of this text has been promised by Mr. A. H. Inman, in a work entitled "Anglo-Saxon Mythology."

[3] This seems to be the usual view, but the question is too large a one to be discussed at length here. The paucity of entries between 840 and 865 is worth noticing.

[4] See Plummer, *op. cit.*, II. p. cx f., and the references there given.

None of the annals derived from these sources have any bearing on the history of Wessex. The origin of the entries referring to this kingdom is quite unknown. They vary very much in character. Down to the year 754 they are as a rule annals in the strict sense, professing to give the exact dates of the events which they record. On the average, taking the whole period from 495, we find about one entry in every four years, though towards the end of the time they become much more frequent. But between 754 and 823 we find probably only five West Saxon entries in sixty-eight years. Moreover these differ entirely in character from the preceding entries. The entries for 755 and 784 are summaries of reigns which must have been written after the reigns were ended. In 787 we hear of an event which the writer makes no attempt to date. From 823 onwards we get strict annalistic writing again, as might be expected. Again, down to the year 754 we find a complete succession of the bishops of Winchester. But between 754 and 823 we have only one casual reference to a person holding this office, and this occurs in an annal (799) which is probably not of West Saxon origin. There seems to be reason therefore for supposing that the materials for the ninth century Chronicle included a collection of West Saxon annals extending to the middle of the eighth century or somewhat later, and that this collection was brought up to date by the addition of a few entries giving summaries of the reigns of Cynewulf and Berhtric, which were of course not much beyond the reach of living memory in the time of Aethelwulf. For the details of Cynewulf's death there may have been a separate written source.

The existence of such annals is further confirmed by certain archaisms in the language of the earlier entries. These consist partly of forms, especially case-endings, which were no longer used in texts of the ninth century and partly of words which appear to have a different and earlier meaning[1]. It is to be observed that these archaisms seem to be confined to proper names, which makes it probable that the annals were written in Latin. Indeed there is little reason for believing that any of the early documents from which the Chronicle is derived were

[1] Cf. Stevenson, *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, XIV. (1899) p. 38.

written in English. But there is a more important question than this. Were these annals entirely composed about the middle of the eighth century or were earlier documents used? In the former case we must of course assume that most of the dates assigned to events before the end of the seventh century are due to mere guesswork. I confess I am somewhat reluctant to admit this. Many of the seventh century annals have all the appearance of being genuine records. Moreover we may note that down to Ine we find the genealogy of almost every king, whereas those of all the succeeding kings are omitted—a fact which seems to point to a change of authorship. This, however, is a question on which we can hardly hope to get beyond conjecture.

At all events there seems to be good reason for believing that, though the Chronicle itself is a work of the ninth century, the materials from which it drew for the history of Wessex, and which in all probability contained this story in some form or other, dated from the eighth and perhaps even from the seventh century. We may next briefly notice another objection. Cerdic is said to be a Welsh and not an English name. This is no doubt true. But in the time of Cynewulf there was an earl of this name in Wessex, who signs charters from the year 758 onwards. Therefore, if Cerdic was not a recognised English name, the existence of this person tends to show that the story was already known.

We have still of course to face Gildas' statement that no war took place between the Britons and the Saxons for forty-four years after the siege of Mons Badonicus. According to the Annales Cambriae, as we have seen (p. 14), this interval of peace is to be dated from 517 to 561 or later—a period in which the Chronicle places several important campaigns. But even if we reject the authority of the Annales Cambriae and put the siege back into the fifth century, some part of the forty-four years is bound to coincide with part of the period assigned by the Chronicle to the West Saxon invasion. The evidence of the Chronicle is therefore irreconcilable with that of Gildas. As we can hardly dispute the statements of a contemporary writer we must conclude that the chronology of the Chronicle is not even approximately correct.

But chronological inaccuracy is of course no proof that the story is not based on genuine tradition. There remains however a more serious difficulty[1]. It is clear that according to the Chronicle the West Saxon invasion started from the coast of Hampshire, though the landing place (*Cerdicesora*) has not been identified. But in the preceding chapter we saw that at the beginning of historical times this coast was inhabited not by Saxons but by Jutes. The same nation according to Bede colonised the Isle of Wight. Yet according to the Chronicle the island was conquered by Cerdic and Cynric and given by them to their relations, Stuf and Wihtgar, while in ann. 514 it is expressly stated that the latter were West Saxons. Indeed the Jutes are not mentioned by the Chronicle at all except in a late addition to ann. 449, derived from Bede, H.E. I. 15[2].

Now these are facts which certainly require explanation. Bede's work was the recognised authority for the history of ancient times and the great storehouse from which all later writers drew their materials. We are bound to conclude therefore either that Bede's statements were rejected by the author of our annals or that they were unknown to him—in which case we can hardly avoid concluding that the annals are of earlier date than the Ecclesiastical History. But even in the latter case we have to account for the incompatibility of the two sets of statements. Bede's references to the Jutes are of too precise a character to admit of our supposing that he had misunderstood his informants. Though the Jutes of the Isle of Wight had apparently been annihilated, those of the mainland are represented as being still a distinct people in his time[3]. Again, it is incredible that Bede can have had any motive for misrepresenting the facts. In the case of the annalist on the other hand

[1] Cf. Sir H. H. Howorth's paper "The Beginnings of Wessex," *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, XIII. p. 668 ff.

[2] This remark applies to the Kentish Jutes as well as those of Hampshire. We shall see later however that the Kentish Jutes appear to have given up their national name very early, apparently before Bede's time. But Bede distinctly states that this was not the case with the Jutes of Hampshire.

[3] Ea gens.....quae usque hodie in prouincia Occidentalium Saxonum Iutarum natio nominatur; H.E. I. 15.

such a motive may not have been wanting. If the annals were composed before the Ecclesiastical History, i.e. before the year 731, the devastation of the island must have been well within living memory; and consequently a desire may have been felt to find some excuse for the barbarity with which it had been treated. Such an excuse was clearly well provided by the story that the islanders had originally received their country as a gift from the West Saxon royal family and had subsequently abjured the sovereignty of their benefactors. This is what seems to me on the whole the most probable explanation. Of course we need not suppose that Stuf and Wihtgar are fictitious names. They may perfectly well be derived from genuine tradition. It is the connection of these persons with the West Saxon royal family which is open to suspicion. If they were real persons they must surely have been Jutes. The same remark probably applies to the Bieda and Maegla of ann. 501. As they are not mentioned again and as their names seem not to occur in the nomenclature of the district, there is little reason for regarding them as fictitious. It is quite possible that they were the traditional founders of the Jutish colony on the mainland[1].

Mr Stevenson in his paper "The Beginnings of Wessex" (*Eng. Hist. Rev.* XIV. p. 32 ff.) defends the account given in the Chronicle on the ground that "Cerdic may have had grandsons or nephews who were Jutes by race, and who may have brought a detachment of their folk to his assistance." This is no doubt true; but it is necessary to distinguish clearly between personal relationship and national amalgamation. When Mr Stevenson says that the name of the Hampshire Jutes soon faded out of memory, the point at issue seems to me to resolve itself into a question as to the relative credibility of Bede and the Chronicle; for according to the former these Jutes retained a distinctive national appellation until the eighth century. It is to be observed moreover that the differences between the two nations were probably by no means inconsiderable. Bede distinctly connects the Jutes of Hampshire with the inhabitants of Kent; and the latter differed very greatly from the West Saxons, not indeed in language but,

[1] For the name *Port* see Stevenson, *l. c.*, p. 35, note.

as we shall see later, in the structure of their social system. That there may have been a personal relationship between the leaders of the two invading nations is of course quite possible. But here again, it must be remembered, we are building on the authority of a document which has suppressed all reference to the nationality of the Jutes. I confess it does not seem quite natural to me that one of the two nations, presumably the smaller and less important, should have occupied the coast-lands, while the other passed on into the interior. The evidence being such as it is, I think the possibility of the West Saxons having come from a different quarter ought certainly not to be left out of account.

In conclusion we must return for a moment to the name *Cerdic*. It has already been mentioned that this name is generally regarded as Welsh. Various suggestions have been put forward in explanation of this curious phenomenon, e.g. that the family may have been settled in Gaul before the invasion of Britain. But it deserves to be pointed out that, so far as the chronology of sound-changes in Welsh can be traced, such a name can hardly have been acquired in the fifth or even in the sixth century. There can be little doubt that it is derived from the ancient British name *Coroticus*, and consequently that it shows the Welsh change of tenuis to media (*d* for *t*), which appears to have taken place about the beginning of the seventh century[1]. Hence the suggestion that Cerdic was a Saxon who had taken a Welsh name in the fifth century can hardly be admitted. If philological evidence is to be trusted the name Cerdic was not known to the Saxons before the seventh century.

[1] This is too large a question to be discussed here. It may be noted however that in names of places the tenuis seems to be preserved everywhere except in the extreme west. So also in names of places and persons mentioned by Bede in connection with events which occurred at the beginning of the seventh century, e.g. *Bancor*, *Bancornaburg*, *Dinoot* (Dunawd) ; H. E. II. 2. Within the next generation the change seems to have taken place, e.g. *Cerdice* (ib. IV. 23), *Caedualla*. It is to be observed that the Laud MS. of the Chronicle (E) regularly has *Certic*, a form which is found also in D and F and must therefore go back to the text which Mr Plummer (II. p. lxiii) calls δ. The same three MSS. have other peculiarities in Celtic names (cf. ann. 508, 577).

Indeed the various forms in which it occurs in MSS. (*Cerdic*, *Ceardic*, *Caerdic*) tend to show that it had not been thoroughly naturalised in English.

We may now summarise briefly the results of our discussion. It has been shown on the one hand that the evidence for the story goes back to the first half of the eighth century, if not earlier, on the other that the chronology is wrong, that the West Saxons are represented as starting from territory which really belonged to the Jutes, that all reference to the Jutes has been suppressed and that their leaders have been turned into West Saxons, and finally that the founder of the West Saxon dynasty bears a name for which it is difficult to account. In spite therefore of the antiquity of the story the investigation hardly tends to increase our confidence in it—at least in that part of it which refers to the true West Saxons. Moreover we have to note that Cerdic himself is mentioned in six annals; that two of these (530, 534) contain statements relating to the Isle of Wight which are probably to be rejected; and that the other four (495, 508, 519, 527) all refer to places which are supposed to be named after him. Again, in all these six annals Cynric is associated with Cerdic, and in the first, as also in the Preface, he is said to be his son. Yet according to a well attested genealogy he was his grandson. The annals and the genealogy come presumably from different sources. If we accept the latter we must conclude that the author of the annals was mistaken in regard to Cynric's father; if we choose to follow the annals we shall have to admit that they were rejected by the author of the genealogy.

It is to be noted that the greater part of Cynric's reign is practically a blank. Indeed we have no mention of any action on the mainland between 527 and 552. With the latter year there begins a new series of entries which differs from the preceding one through the entire absence of the etymological element. The first two entries of the new series (ann. 552, 556) record battles at Salisbury and *Beranburg*. The only objection that can be brought against them is that they probably fall within Gildas' forty-four years of peace. But we have seen that there is good textual authority for the statement that Ceawlin

reigned only seventeen years. If these are to be calculated from his expulsion in 592, his succession must be placed in 575[1]. The battles which were fought in the later years of Cynric's reign may therefore be placed after the conclusion of the long peace. In this way all improbabilities in the latter part of the story will be removed.

In the earlier annals the story of Stuf and Wihtgar and perhaps also that of Bieda and Maegla may have a basis in tradition. Is it permissible to suggest that these have served as models for the story of Cerdic's landing? The chief difficulty arises from the name *Cerdic*. The conclusion to which the discussion has led us is that this name was derived from the local nomenclature, in which it appears to have been fairly common. Besides the examples in the Chronicle given above it has been pointed out that there was a *Ceardicesbeorg* at Hurstbourne (Hampshire), mentioned in a charter ascribed to Edward the Elder (Birch, Cart. Sax. 594). Again, if our statement of the phonetic history of the name is correct, we shall have to suppose that a Welsh population still survived in some parts of Hampshire at the beginning of the seventh century. But is this really impossible? It is worth noting that the name of Ceadwalla and perhaps also those of his brother Mul and his grandfather Cada seem to indicate a strain of Welsh blood in the West Saxon royal family. Did the campaigns of Cynric and Ceawlin begin by their interference in one of those internal feuds among the Britons of which Gildas complains? It is hardly inconceivable that the name *Cerdic* may thus have been derived from Welsh tradition. St Patrick speaks in his Epistle of a king named Coroticus, who seems to have lived about the middle of the fifth century and who is possibly to be identified with the *Ceretic guletic* of the Welsh genealogies. But we have no evidence which would lead us to suppose that he was connected with Hampshire.

It may perhaps be argued that the historical character of the West Saxon Cerdic is substantiated by the constant occur-

[1] According to the chronology of the Preface Ceawlin's reign would be from 571 to 588.

rence of his name in the genealogies—even in those which give the name Creoda and which seem therefore to be independent of the annals. How far these West Saxon genealogies are to be credited is not quite clear. They do not occur in the two earliest lists of genealogies which we possess, viz. Cott. Vesp. B. 6, fol. 108 ff. and the Historia Brittonum, § 57 ff. Again, the genealogies given by the Chronicle itself in entries of the seventh century seem to be inconsistent with one another. It may be granted however that the names of Cerdic's ancestors seem for the most part to be genuine and archaic. In two cases, Wig and Freawine, to which we shall have to return later, they even appear to be historical. Yet immediately after Wig we find a name *Giwis*, which is extremely suspicious in view of the fact that the West Saxons were in ancient times called *Geuissae*. If this is to be regarded as an interpolation may not the name Cerdic have crept into the list in a similar way? A parallel case is perhaps to be found in the lists of his descendants. For if ann. 685 and 688 be compared with ann. 597, 611 and 674, it will appear distinctly probable that the name Ceawlin has been interpolated in the former.

One last possibility perhaps deserves to be taken into account. As the names Cerdic and Creoda are not unlike, it is hardly beyond the range of credibility that the early West Saxons may have identified two distinct personalities, the one being known to them from the local nomenclature or the traditions of the natives, while the other was an ancestor of their own royal family. In that case we should have to suppose that the genealogies are due to some later bard or scholar who suspected that the identification was incorrect. But this of course can be regarded only as a conjectural hypothesis.

We need not hesitate to believe that a king named Cynric ruled over the West Saxons about the middle of the sixth century and that his successor, and perhaps son, Ceawlin raised the kingdom to a formidable power by conquests on the north and west. The origin of the kingdom however must for the present be regarded as obscure. The account given by the Chronicle is open to several serious objections, and on the whole

it seems to me more probable that the kingdom was an offshoot from Essex or Sussex[1]. When the archaeology of the southern counties has been more thoroughly investigated it is to be hoped that some further light may be thrown on the course followed by the invasion.

[1] Sir H. H. Howorth (*l. c.*) has suggested that the West Saxons came originally from the Thames Valley, partly on the ground that Dorchester (Oxfordshire) was the first seat of the West Saxon bishopric. As the earliest bishops seem usually to have fixed their headquarters in or near the chief town or village of the king to whom they were attached, the fact that Birinus settled at Dorchester is certainly a good argument for supposing that in Cynegils' days at all events the chief centre of the kingdom was in this neighbourhood, possibly at Bensington.

CHAPTER III.

THE INVASION OF KENT.

The story of the invasion of Kent is also given in the Chronicle, in much the same form as the story of Cerdic and Cynric. In this case however we have other sources of information. Several references to the story are to be found in the works of Bede, while the Historia Brittonum gives a detailed account of the invasion. It will be convenient to begin with the account contained in the Chronicle.

449. Mauricius and Valentines obtained the throne and reigned seven years. In their days Hengest and Horsa, invited by Wyrtgeorn, king of the Britons, came to Britain, (landing) at a place on the coast which is called *Ypwinesfleot* (i.e. Ypwine's bay or estuary); at first (they came) to help the Britons, but later they fought against them.

455. Hengest and Horsa fought against King Wyrtgeorn at a place which is called *Agaelesthrep*[1]; and his brother Horsa was slain. And after that Hengest obtained the throne with Aesc, his son.

457. Hengest and Aesc fought against the Britons at a place which is called *Crecganford*, and there they slew four thousand men; and the Britons then forsook Kent and fled to London in great terror.

465. Hengest and Aesc fought against the Welsh near *Wippedesfleot*, and there they slew twelve Welsh princes; and one of their own knights, whose name was Wipped, was slain there.

[1] In MS. W. (cf. Plummer, *op. cit.*, II. p. xcviii ff.) this name has been emended to *Aegelesford* (i.e. Aylesford).

473. Hengest and Aesc fought against the Welsh and captured innumerable spoils, and the Welsh fled from the English like [as one flies from[1]] fire.

488. Aesc obtained the throne and was king of the people of Kent for twenty-four years.

Between the last two entries we find two annals (477, 485) describing the invasion of Sussex (cf. pp. 2, 14). The Chronicle contains no further references to Kent until the time of Aethelberht.

Artificial chronology is still more apparent here than in the story of the West Saxon invasion. But, as I pointed out before, I do not see that this necessitates our believing that the story itself is fictitious. The similarity between the two stories is obvious. Perhaps the most curious coincidence is that the interval between the annal recording the invasion and that recording the death of the chief invader is the same (thirty-nine years) in both cases. It is to be noted however that the entries referring to the invasions of Kent and Sussex come to an end before the West Saxon entries begin. In view of the obvious resemblances between the two stories this fact suggests that the West Saxon entries may have been intended as a continuation of the others. Further, we may observe that in the Kentish entries the etymological element is confined to one annal (465), a fact which tells greatly in their favour.

Bede's references to the story are as follows: In his Chronica Maiora (De Temp. Ratione, cap. 66), § 483, he states that the Britons, after an unsuccessful appeal to Aetius in his third consulship (A.D. 446), decided, with their king Vertigernus, to call in the Angli to assist them against the Scots and Picts. In § 489 he says that the nation of the Angli or Saxons arrived in Britain during the reign of Martianus and Valentinianus in three warships. They subsequently received reinforcements and, after expelling the enemy, turned their arms against their allies, alleging that they had not received adequate payment for their services. Both of these entries are derived from Gildas, though the latter speaks of the invaders only as *Saxones* (not *Angli*) and does not give any reference to the reign of Martianus and

[1] An explanatory addition in MS. F.

Valentinianus. In the Ecclesiastical History, I. 14 f., Bede repeats practically the same statements, but calls the British king *Vurtigernus*. He adds however the following important passage: "Their first leaders are said to have been two brothers, Hengest and Horsa, of whom Horsa was afterwards killed in battle by the Britons and has a monument still distinguished by his name in the eastern parts of Kent. They were the sons of Wihtgils (*Victgisl*), whose father was Witta (*Vitta*), whose father was Wehta (*Vecta*), whose father was Woden (*Voden*)." In II. 5 he says that "Aethelberht was the son of Eormenric (*Irminric*), whose father was *Octa*, whose father was *Oeric*, surnamed *Oisc*, from whom the kings of Kent are often called *Oiscingas*. His father was Hengest who, together with his son Oisc, first entered Britain at the invitation of Vurtigernus." In the chronological summary, V. 24, we find: "Ann. 449. Martianus obtained the throne with Valentinianus and held it for seven years. In their time the Angli summoned by the Britons came to Britain."

It will be observed that Bede's account is by no means inconsistent with that of the Chronicle, though the latter gives several additional details in regard to the war. Now we have seen that the Chronicle dates probably from the time of Aethelwulf, while Bede's work is more than a century older. Are we then to conclude that the account given by the Chronicle is derived from Bede or that both accounts come from a common source? In the former case what value is to be attached to the additional details given by the Chronicle? In regard to the first of these questions we may note that in I. 15 Bede uses the expression "Hengest and Horsa are said to have been (*perhibentur*) their first leaders." This might of course apply either to oral or documentary information; but it is questionable whether Bede himself was familiar with popular traditions. If that had been the case he would surely have said something about the origin of the northern kingdoms. The fact that he entirely neglects Northumbrian traditions, while he gives those of Kent, inclines one to believe that he had acquired the latter at second hand. This suspicion is confirmed by the form in which the British king's name occurs. In the Chronica Maiora it is given as *Vertigernus*, a very early

Welsh form. This must surely have been derived from a Welsh source, presumably Gildas, although in one of the surviving MSS. of that writer the name appears in a corrupt form (*Gurthrigerno*), while in the other it is omitted altogether[1]. On the other hand the form which he uses in the Ecclesiastical History, *Vurtigernus*, is English. It represents however a form of the language which was certainly obsolete in Bede's time and probably for at least half-a-century earlier. We seem to be justified therefore in inferring that Bede's information was derived from a much earlier document, which was probably of Kentish origin. But, if so, may not the Chronicle have drawn from the same source? We have already seen that there is an intimate connection between the annals referring to the Kentish and West Saxon invasions. May not the Kentish entries have served as the model on which the others were based?

The third and fullest account is that given by the Historia Brittonum. This is a highly composite work and varies greatly in the different recensions in which it is preserved. The date of its composition is still an unsettled question. From § 16[2] it appears that a recension from which most of our texts come was made about the year 858[3], but it is likely enough that the greater part of the work was in existence before that time[4]. Fortunately the portions which deal with our story, viz. §§ 31–49 and § 56, are those which show the least amount of textual divergence. Yet they appear to be not less composite than the rest of the work. It will be convenient first to give a short analysis of the contents of these sections.

In § 31 we hear for the first time of the Saxons and their reception by Guorthigirnus (Wyrtgeorn). But the following sections, §§ 32–35, deal with an entirely different subject, namely

[1] It seems to have been omitted also in the lost MS. edited by Polydore Vergil.

[2] The references are to San Marte's edition.

[3] If the Mermin of § 16 is the same king whose death is recorded in the Ann. Cambriae (845), the first figures given in this section can hardly be correct; cf. Thurneysen, *Zeitschr. f. celt. Philologie*, I. 164 ff., who suggests 826 as the date of the Harleian recension.

[4] On this subject see Zimmer, *Nennius Vindicatus* (especially pp. 74 ff., 93 ff., 275 ff.) and Thurneysen, *Zeitschr. f. deutsche Philologie*, XXVIII. 83 ff.; but the conclusions reached must be regarded as very doubtful.

the mission of St German. §§ 36–38 are again occupied with the Saxon invasion, while § 39 returns to St German. §§ 40–42 seem to form a distinct episode. Guorthigirnus appears here as a heathen, and though there is a reference to the invaders, they are not called *Saxones*, as elsewhere, but *gens Anglorum*. §§ 43–46 again deal with the Saxon invasion, § 47 returns once more to St German, while § 48 f. are taken up with the family and genealogy of Guorthigirnus. Then, after a digression (§§ 50–55) relating to the mission of St Patrick, we again return to the Saxons in § 56[1]. Altogether nine of the twenty sections are concerned with the Saxon invasion. It is to be observed that St German is not mentioned in any of these sections, and again that the Saxons are not mentioned in any of those which deal with the mission of St German. The two stories are kept quite distinct throughout.

It is clear then that this part of the work is derived from at least two different sources. One of these was certainly a lost history of St German, which we find mentioned in § 47[2]. Since one of our earliest texts[3] bears the title *Exberta* (for *excerpta* ?) *fiiurbaoen de libro Scī Germani inuenta*, it is likely enough that this was the original element and that the passages which deal with the Saxon invasion have been added subsequently. A sort of connecting link is provided by the adventures of Guorthigirnus, who enters into both stories. We will now confine our attention to the story of the Saxon invasion.

In § 31 the episode of the Saxon invasion is introduced in the following words: "Now it came to pass after the above mentioned war, that is the war which took place between the Britons and the Romans, when their leaders were slain, and after the slaying of the tyrant Maximus, and when the dominion of the Romans in Britain was ended, they were in fear for forty years. Guorthigirnus reigned in Britain, and while he reigned he was oppressed by fear of the Picts and Scots, by Roman attack and by dread of Ambrosius. Meanwhile there came

[1] In the Vatican text this section precedes the story of St Patrick.

[2] *Hic est finis Guorthigirni ut in libro Beati Germani repperi; alii autem aliter dixerunt.*

[3] The Chartres text; Revue Celtique, xv. 175 ff.

three ships driven away from Germany in exile. In them were Hors and Hengist[1] who were brothers, sons of Guictgils, son of Guitta, son of Guectha, son of Vuoden, son of Frealaf, son of Fredulf, son of Finn, son of Folcwald, son of Geta who was, as they say, son of God...Guorthigirnus received them kindly and gave them an island, which in their tongue is called Tanet but in the British language Ruoihin. *Regnante Gratiano secundo Equantio Saxones a Guorthigirno suscepti sunt, anno cccxlvii* (al. *cccxxxvii, ccccxlvii*) *post passionem Christi.*"

In § 36 we are told that after the Saxons had encamped in the above mentioned island of Thanet, the king promised to give them food and clothing; and they promised to attack his enemies bravely. But when their numbers had increased the Britons were no longer able to provide for them and begged them to depart. The result was that they formed a plan for opening hostilities. But in § 37 we find a story quite inconsistent with the last passage. Hengist perceiving the helplessness of the Britons persuades the king to allow him to send for reinforcements from his own people. They arrive in sixteen ships, accompanied by the daughter of Hengist. The king, desiring to marry the girl, consents to give Kent to her father. In § 38 the same story is continued. Hengist persuades the king to let him send for his son and nephew, Octha and Ebissa, with further reinforcements. They arrive with forty ships and after devastating the Orkneys occupy the lands beyond the Mare Fresicum[2]. Hengist continues to send for reinforcements. In § 43 f. we find that hostilities have broken out between Hengist and the king's son, Guorthemir. Four battles are mentioned. The locality of the first is not specified, but the result was to drive Hengist into Thanet. The second takes place on the river *Derguentid* (presumably the Darent) and the third at a place called *Episford* in English and *Rit hergabail* in British. In this battle Hors and the king's son, Categirn, are killed. The fourth battle is fought near the *Lapis Tituli* on the shore of the Gallic Sea. It is a great victory and the invaders are driven to their ships; but

[1] The usual forms are *Hengist(us)* and *Hencgistus*. Among the following names there is some (merely orthographic) variation between the different MSS.

[2] Apparently the Irish Sea or some part of it.

shortly afterwards Guorthemir dies. In § 45 f. the invaders return under the protection of the king, and it is decided to hold a conference, both parties being unarmed. Hengist however directs his men to secrete knives in their boots, and at a sign from him they attack and slay the three hundred British nobles. The king alone is spared and allowed to ransom himself by granting Essex and Sussex to the invaders. In § 56 we learn that after Hengist's death his son Octha leaves the north and goes to Kent. From him the kings of Kent are descended. Then we have a description of Arthur's wars, and it is added that though the invaders were constantly defeated, they always sent for fresh reinforcements and new kings from Germany until the time of Ida, son of Eobba, who was the first king in Bernicia.

We must now enquire what is the origin of this story. We have already seen that the incidents related in § 37 are inconsistent with the preceding narrative (§ 36). The latter however is clearly in accordance with the story told by Gildas. Now, if we turn to § 31, we see that the motive assigned for the coming of the Saxons is an entirely different one from that given by Gildas. According to the latter the Saxons were invited by the Britons to defend them from the Scots and Picts. But according to our story Hors and Hengist were exiles who sought refuge with the British king. It appears then that even for the Saxon invasion the compilers of the Historia Brittonum had two distinct authorities, one of which was probably Gildas, while the other gave a very different version of the story.

My impression is that this second and main authority for the story of the invasion was of English origin. This impression is derived from the following facts: i. The names of several places are given in English as well as Welsh form: *Tanet—Ruoihin* (§ 31), *Cantguaraland—Cent* (§ 37), *Episford—Rit hergabail* (§ 44), *Beornicia—Berneich* (§ 56). ii. The four battles between Guorthemir and the Saxons in § 44 may be compared with Hengest's four battles in the Saxon Chronicle (cf. p. 35 f.). The site of the second battle seems to be the same in both accounts. iii. In § 37 it is stated that "Hengist took counsel with his elders, who had come with him from the island *Oghgul*." Again, according

to § 38 "Hengist continually summoned ships to him, so that they left the islands from which they had come without an inhabitant." With this may be compared Bede's statement (H. E. I. 15) that the Angli came from a country called *Angulus*, which is said to have remained uninhabited from that time to the present day. This would seem to be an English tradition. iv. In § 46 we find an English sentence *nimath eure saexas* and English names of provinces, *Estsaxum*, *Sutsaxum*[1]. v. In the same section it is related that Hengist invited the British elders to a conference and that the Saxons concealed knives in their boots. Practically the same story is told by Widukind (I. 6 f.) in his account of the early history of the Old Saxons. Possibly it may have arisen from an aetiological myth; but in any case the story would seem to be of Saxon origin. vi. In § 31 we find a genealogy of Hors and Hengist which agrees with that given by Bede (H. E. I. 15), so far as the latter goes. The remainder of it is, except in one point, identical with a genealogy which appears in a number of ancient MSS., viz. Cott. Vesp. B. 6 (fol. 108 ff.), C. C. C. C. 183 and the Textus Roffensis[2]. The exception is that the name of Finn's father is here given as *Folcwald* (al. *Fodepald*) instead of *Godwulf*. But this is a mistake which could only have been made by some one familiar with English traditions; for Finn the son of Folcwalda was a well-known figure in English heroic poetry.

Some of these facts are of course capable of being explained otherwise. English names, like *Episford*, might have been acquired by ear. The story of the four battles might be due to common tradition. But if we review the evidence as a whole I think it is difficult to avoid concluding that the story is derived from English sources[3]. Indeed in the case of the genealogy any other explanation is practically impossible. But we have a still stronger piece of evidence. Immediately after the

[1] The Vatican text has *Eastseaxan*, *Suderseaxan*, *Middelseaxan*. All three names occur also in the Irish version.

[2] Cf. also the Saxon Chronicle, ann. 547, 855.

[3] It is to be observed that Nennius in both Prefaces speaks of Saxon documents among his sources, and the terms used (*historiae Scottorum Saxonumque*, § 1; *annales Scottorum Saxonumque*, § 3) seem to imply more than mere genealogies. If my hypothesis is correct it tends to confirm the genuineness of these Prefaces.

genealogy (cf. p. 40) the date of Hengist's arrival is given. The MSS. differ considerably in regard to the figures, but there can be little doubt, as we shall see shortly, that the original reading was *anno cccxlvii post passionem Christi.* The year is further specified by the words *regnante Gratiano secundo Equantio.* This date has been a source of great perplexity, for earlier in the same section it is stated that Guorthigirnus was reigning forty years after the death of Maximus, i.e. about the year 428, and that is the date which is given for the coming of the Saxons in § 66 and probably also in § 16. What then is to be said of the date 347 *post passionem?* For an answer to this question we must turn for a moment to §§ 57—65. These sections consist of genealogies of the English dynasties, a list of Northumbrian kings down to Ecgfrith (d. 685) and notices referring to English and Welsh history in the sixth and seventh centuries. The latter would seem originally to have been marginal notes and are probably in part translated from Welsh. They may perhaps be attributed to St Ellodu, archbishop of Bangor (d. 809), or one of his disciples. The groundwork of these sections however was undoubtedly the genealogies and the list of kings. The genealogies as a whole are closely related to a series which appears in the three texts mentioned above, viz. Cott. Vesp. B 6, C.C.C.C. 183 and the Textus Roffensis. The two latter texts also give lists of Northumbrian and Mercian kings, of which the Northumbrian list agrees closely with that of the Historia Brittonum.

Now in the Corpus text immediately after the genealogies we find the following entry: *quando Gratianus consul fuit secundo et Aequitius quarto, tunc his consulibus Saxones a Wyrtgeorno in Britannia suscepti sunt, anno cccxlviiii a passione Christi.* It is clear that this note is connected in some way with the passage in the Historia Brittonum which we are discussing[1]. Two facts deserve to be noted. i. The Corpus text has no traces of Welsh

[1] The connection is still more obvious in the case of a passage in the Vatican text at the end of § 56: *quando Gratianus Aequantius consul fuit in Roma, quia tunc a consulibus Romanorum totus orbis regebatur, Saxones a Guorthegirno* A.D. 447 *suscepti sunt*, etc. This passage is of interest in showing that the Vatican recension has preserved elements of the original text which have been lost elsewhere.

influence. *Wyrtgeorno* is the correct English form. The genealogies are preceded and followed by works of Bede. ii. The Corpus entry is less corrupt than the passage in the Historia Brittonum. The true figures are (ann. 348 a p. C.) *Gratiano quarto, Equitio secundo.* The Corpus text has transposed *quarto* and *secundo.* The Historia Brittonum has *secundo* in the wrong place, while *quarto* has disappeared. One cannot help concluding therefore that the Historia Brittonum has obtained this statement from a text closely related to C.C.C.C. 183[1].

We have now seen (i) that many features in the account of the Saxon invasion point to an English origin of the story, and (ii) that part of § 31, as well as the genealogies of §§ 57—65, is derived from an English source which can be identified. In conclusion we may note one point in which the story of the Historia Brittonum is at variance with the account given by Bede. According to the latter Oisc was the son of Hengist and Octa the son of Oisc. But in the Historia Brittonum, in the narrative (§§ 38, 56) as well as in the genealogies (§ 58), Octha (i.e. Octa) is the son and successor of Hengist, while according to § 58 Ossa (i.e. presumably Oisc[2]) is the son of Octha. Here again the Historia Brittonum agrees with the English genealogical document mentioned above; for the latter gives the series Hengest—Ocga—Oese. It seems highly probable therefore that the narrative of the Saxon invasion contained in the Historia Brittonum is intimately connected with the genealogies in § 57 ff., and consequently that the former as well as the latter comes from a source related to the English genealogical texts which we have been discussing.

[1] The MS. used by the compiler of the Historia Brittonum must of course have been much older than the Corpus MS., which dates only from the latter part of Aethelstan's reign. A passage inserted in the Cambridge recension, § 63, suggests that this English text came into Welsh hands before the death of St Ellodu, and the orthography of English names appears to be that of the eighth century. We may further compare a reading of the Vatican text in § 57 : *de ipso (Octha) orti sunt reges Cantpariorum usque in hodiernum diem*, which points to a date at all events before 798. The genealogies come down to 796, but the text used by the Historia Brittonum may of course have incorporated earlier matter. The earliest text of the genealogies which we possess (Cott. Vesp. B 6) seems to date from 811—814.

[2] Strictly *Ossa* seems to represent *Oese*; cf. the Bernician genealogy (§ 57) where the same form corresponds to *Oesa* in the English texts.

If this conclusion is correct it follows that, except for the vague allusions of Gildas, all our evidence for the story of the invasion of Kent is ultimately of English origin. We must now ask what amount of credence is to be attached to the story. For this purpose our best course will be to consider in order the various objections which have been brought against it. These objections are four in number. The first is that the dates assigned to the invasion by Bede and the Chronicle on the one hand, and by the Historia Brittonum on the other, do not agree. The second is in regard to the names Hengest and Horsa. The third is that essentially different motives for the invasion are given by Bede and the Historia Brittonum. Lastly there is a discrepancy, as we have already noticed, in regard to the name of Hengest's son and successor.

The chronological difficulty may for the present be left; for, as we saw in the last chapter, the credibility of such a narrative as this does not necessarily depend on the correctness of the dates contained in it. We may pass on then to the second objection. Both names, Hengest and Horsa, are unfamiliar. The former does however occur in the old poetry, the person so called being likewise a hero of the fifth century. In this case therefore the objection will not hold good. The name of the other brother is not quite certain. Bede and the Chronicle call him *Horsa*, whereas in the Historia Brittonum his name appears as *Hors*. Both names are alike unknown elsewhere. Indeed I know of no English personal name which contains the element *Hors-*. On the other hand it is to be observed (i) that the genealogies present many names which do not occur in historical times but which are found among other Teutonic nations, and (ii) that names compounded with *Hross-* (i.e. *Hors-*) e.g. *Hrosskell*, *Hrossbiörn*, occur in ancient Scandinavian literature. The form *Horsa*, which has the better textual authority of the two, may very well be shortened from some such name as these[1]. There

[1] The form *Hors*, which rests only on the authority of the Historia Brittonum, may be compared with such names as Beorn, Wulf, which are not uncommon. If this form is to be preferred, I should be inclined to think that Hengest and Hors were not the names originally given to the two brothers but nicknames acquired subsequently. In any case we may compare the names of the two brothers Eofor and Wulf mentioned in Beow. 2965 ff.

seems to be no adequate ground therefore for regarding it with suspicion[1].

The next difficulty is in regard to the motive for the invasion. Gildas, followed by Bede, states that the Saxons were called in by the Britons to protect them from the Scots and Picts. On the other hand according to the Historia Brittonum Hengist and Hors first arrived as exiles and were kindly received by the British king. In § 36 we get a narrative which agrees with that of Gildas, but this, as we have seen, is incompatible with what follows. The compiler has evidently sought to reconcile two quite different versions of the story. Yet it is by no means clear that the two accounts in themselves were incompatible. If we were to place the events narrated in § 36 after the arrival of the reinforcements mentioned in § 37 f., the inconsistency between the two passages would disappear. The course of events might then be described somewhat as follows. Hengest and Horsa arrive in the first place as exiles seeking refuge with the British king. Having entered his service and undertaken to fight against the Scots and Picts they ask to be allowed to send for reinforcements from their own people. After their victorious campaign, however, the Britons become alarmed at the increase in their numbers and try to get rid of them. In this form the story no longer presents any difficulty.

The discrepancy in regard to the name of Hengest's son and successor is more serious. In the Chronicle Aesc (i.e. Oisc[2]) is mentioned in five of the six entries which refer to the invasion of Kent, and both the Chronicle and Bede state distinctly that he was Hengest's son. On the other hand Octha is the son of Hengist both in the narrative and in the genealogies of the

[1] The name of Hengest's daughter is not given in the Hist. Brittonum. According to Geoffrey of Monmouth she was called Rowena, which seems to be a correct Anglo-Saxon name (*Hrothwyn*)—though apparently it does not occur elsewhere—and preserves the alliteration of *Hengest*. But I do not know whether Geoffrey is supposed to have had any other sources of information than the existing texts of the Historia Brittonum.

[2] This name does not occur elsewhere, but it seems to be guaranteed by the form *Oiscingas*. The substitution of the name *Aesc*, which is of different origin, shows that it was unfamiliar to the compiler of the Chronicle. In the English genealogies *Oese* may be due to a scribal error (for *Oesc*).

Historia Brittonum, while according to the latter Ossa (the Oese of the English genealogies) was the son of Octha. If Ossa—Oese is to be identified with Oisc, the two accounts are clearly irreconcilable. But is the discrepancy greater than one might reasonably expect in a story which has been preserved only by tradition for at least two centuries? If we take into account the greater antiquity of Bede's narrative and the fact that the settlement "beyond the Mare Fresicum" is not mentioned elsewhere, it seems probable that the Historia Brittonum is here in the wrong. But I do not see that this necessitates our rejecting its evidence in other respects, for the relationship of Hengist and Octha is hardly, like that of Cerdic and Cynric, an essential feature of the story.

On the whole, therefore, except for the incidents connected with Octha, I am disposed to regard the accounts of the invasion given by Bede, the Saxon Chronicle and the Historia Brittonum as genuine traditions. If I am right in believing the account in the Historia Brittonum to be ultimately of English origin, its value as independent evidence is of course to some extent reduced. But the story itself is not intrinsically improbable, nor does it really conflict with the few indications regarding the invasion given by the British historian Gildas.

In conclusion account must be taken of the only Continental authority which mentions any proper name in connection with the invasion, namely the work of the anonymous geographer of Ravenna, v. § 31. Here we find it stated that Britain is inhabited by "the nation of the Saxons which came long ago from Old Saxony with their chief, Ansehis by name." If the editors are right in emending this name to *Anschis*[1], its identity with Bede's Oisc can hardly be doubted. We shall have to suppose then that the name has been obtained from some much earlier document, for the sound-change from *ans-* to *ōs-* must have taken place considerably before the end of the sixth century. The reference therefore, so far as it goes, has a certain value in bearing out the antiquity of the tradition, although the name

[1] In any case *Ansehis* can hardly be correct. It would require equally little emendation to connect the form with *Oese*.

of the chief invader seems to have been displaced by that of his son.

We may now return to consider the chronological difficulty. According to Bede the invasion took place when Martianus and Valentinianus were emperors—the true dates for their joint reign being 450–455. This is also the date given by the Chronicle, though *Mauricius* has been written in mistake for *Martianus*. But in the Corpus genealogy and in § 31 of the Historia Brittonum the same event is said to have taken place at a date which according to our reckoning is the year 375. This date, as we have seen, must have come from the genealogy. The Historia Brittonum itself gives in three distinct places quite a different date, namely the year 428. Of the three dates from which we have to choose, that given by the genealogy is clearly the one which has the least claim on our belief. In the year 375, and indeed for many years afterwards, Britain was still under the dominion of the Romans. Whatever then may be the origin of this date, there can be little doubt that it is due to a misunderstanding of some kind[1].

It is a much more difficult matter to decide between the claims of the year 428 and the date used by Bede. There is one piece of evidence which tells distinctly against the latter. In a Gaulish chronicle which comes to an end in the year 452[2] it is

[1] It is found also in the Codex Urbinas of Isidor's Chronicle, ann. 5576 (ed. Roncallius, II col. 451, note), though in a somewhat different form: *Saxones in Britannia a Bertigerno rege Britonorum accersiti sunt anno a passione Domini cccxlviii.* Of the date and source of this interpolation I have not been able to ascertain anything. But it seems to give an earlier form of the statement than those which occur in the Corpus text and the Historia Brittonum. The absence of the names of the consuls might of course be accidental; yet there is every probability that these were added—presumably from the Paschal tables of Victorius Aquitanus—after the chronological error had been made. The form of the sentence distinctly recalls the entry in the Saxon Chronicle, ann. 449: *Hengest and Horsa from Wyrtgeorne geleapade Bretta kyninge* etc., the Latin original of which may very well have been *a Vertigerno rege Brittonum accersiti* (cf. Bede, H.E. v. 24). Two possible explanations of the mistake have occurred to me: (i) that it has arisen out of a scribal error in the figures (*cccxlviii* for *ccccxlviiii*); (ii) that there has been a confusion between the joint reign of Martianus and Valentinian III and that of Gratianus and Valentinian II, for the latter did begin in the year 375. Neither of these suggestions however is quite satisfactory.

[2] Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auct. Ant., IX. p. 660: *Brittaniae usque ad hoc*

stated that the provinces of Britain were conquered by the Saxons in the nineteenth year of Theodosius, i.e. A.D. 441–2. If this is a contemporary statement we must of course reject what is said both by Bede and Gildas. Unfortunately however the evidence is not quite conclusive, for the chronicle in question may be incomplete. We must therefore enquire what were the grounds on which Bede's calculation was based[1]. It is often assumed that Bede had no other authority than Gildas' statement that the invitation to the Saxons followed the unsuccessful appeal to Aetius in 446. But this statement was hardly sufficient ground for placing the invasion in the reign of Martianus and Valentinianus (450—455). The invasion might very well have taken place between 446 and 450; and as a matter of fact Bede himself does elsewhere[2] reckon from 446. The statement that the invasion took place during the reign of Martianus and Valentinianus would seem therefore to have been drawn from a different source. Now I have suggested above that the Saxon Chronicle is not entirely dependent on Bede for its account of the invasion of Kent, but that it may also have used the earlier document from which Bede's account is derived. According to the Chronicle Hengest began to reign in 455 and Aesc reigned for twenty-four years after 488. Is it not probable that the ultimate origin of these statements is to be traced to a lost list of Kentish kings which gave in each case the number of years during which they reigned—like the Mercian and Northumbrian lists in the Corpus text? It is true of course that the Chronicle mentions no kings of Kent between Aesc and Aethelberht. But it is to be remembered that the interests of the Chronicle were primarily West Saxon. The accounts of the invasions of Kent and Sussex serve only as an introduction

tempus uariis cladibus euentibusque latae in dicionem Saxonum rediguntur. We may compare a statement entered under the sixteenth year of Theodosius in another Gaulish chronicle which ends in 511 (ib. p. 161): *Britanniae a Romanis amissae in dicionem Saxonum cedunt.*

[1] The explanation put forward by Thurneysen (*Zeitschr. f. celt. Philologie*, I. 167; *Englische Studien*, XXII. 175), that Bede's date was obtained by adding forty years (cf. Hist. Britt., § 31) to the date 409, can hardly be admitted; for Bede does not place the invasion in the year 449.

[2] H. E. I. 23, II. 14 and especially V. 23.

to the West Saxon story. Now, if this suggestion is correct, the date of Hengest's accession (455) may very well have been obtained by counting the years of the various kings. Then we see at once why the reign of Martianus and Valentinianus was chosen; for the year of Hengest's accession is also that of Valentinianus's death. The date in question therefore, though it agrees well enough with Gildas' statement, may have been obtained quite independently. We may therefore regard it as in some measure a confirmation of that statement.

We must next enquire as to the origin of the date 428. The reference in § 16 throws no light on this question. From §§ 31, 66 however we see that it hangs together with the date fixed for the reign of Guorthigirnus. Now it has already been mentioned that Guorthigirnus enters into both the stories of which §§ 31—49 are composed, the narrative of St German's mission as well as the story of the Saxon invasion. The date 428 can hardly have been derived from the latter, for we have seen that this gives quite a different date. Presumably then it comes from the Liber S. Germani, from which, as we have already noted, the original part of the work seems to have been derived. Now according to Prosper's Chronicle the mission of St German to Britain took place in 429. It is possible then that the date 428 originally referred to the mission of St German and that, before the passage about Hors and Hengist was interpolated, the words *Guorthigirnus regnauit in Brittania* (§ 31) were immediately followed by the opening words of § 32. In that case of course we shall have to suppose that the reference in § 66 to the consulship of Felix and Taurus (A.D. 428) is erroneous. On the other hand, though the extracts from the Liber S. Germani make no reference to the Saxons (cf. p. 39), such a reference does actually occur in the Life of St German by Constantius, cap. 28. Yet the fact that these Saxons are represented as being in alliance with the Picts is somewhat against the idea that they were the same Saxons who settled in Kent. It may of course be urged that according to Bede the Saxons came to terms with the Picts when they turned against the Britons; but this statement is not derived from Gildas. Indeed it is probably an attempt to reconcile the evidence of Gildas and Constantius;

for it must be remembered that Bede has dated the mission of St German more than twenty years too late (Chron. Mai., § 491). We may further note that according to Constantius St German's victory secured peace for the island, and that on the occasion of his second visit, the date of which we do not know, no mention is made of the Saxons. On the whole therefore, though a Saxon raid may have taken place in 428–9, I do not regard this date as at all safe for the arrival of Hengest and Horsa.

It will be convenient now to tabulate the dates given by our different authorities:

375: the English genealogical text, followed by the Historia Brittonum, § 31.

428: the Historia Brittonum §§ 16, 31, 66 (probably from the Liber S. Germani).

441–2: the Gaulish Chronicle (cf. p. 48 f.)[1].

After 446: Gildas.

Before 455: the Saxon Chronicle (probably from an earlier Kentish work).

Account ought also to be taken perhaps of Jordanes, cap. 45, and of St Patrick's epistle to the warriors of Coroticus. According to the former a British king named Riothimus brought reinforcements to the Emperor Anthemius (467–472) in his campaign against the Visigoths, while St Patrick, writing apparently at a time considerably after his arrival in Ireland (432 or 437 ?), alludes frequently to the devastations of the Scots and Picts, but makes no reference to the Saxons[2]. Both these authorities, so far as they go, tend to throw doubt on the statement that Britain was conquered as early as 441–2. If the Gaulish Chronicle is really a contemporary document, we must of course accept its authority against Gildas and in spite of the silence of other early writers. Otherwise I am disposed to think that it has both antedated the first invasion and also exaggerated its effect. In any case, however, I am not inclined to regard any date before 441–2 as probable.

[1] 438–9 in another Gaulish chronicle (cf. p. 49 footnote).

[2] It is possible of course that Coroticus' kingdom was situated in the northern or western part of the country. The identification of him with Ceretic guletic is only an inference from the fact that they must have been approximately contemporary.

There is one more point in connection with the Kentish invasion which deserves notice. We have seen that the name Hengest is very rare. The only other person of this name known to me is the warrior who figures in Beowulf and in the fragmentary poem on the fight in Finn's Castle. The history of this individual is unfortunately obscure. It is clear however that he was the chief follower of a certain Hnaef, who appears to have been a prince in the service of the Danish king Healfdene. On a certain occasion this Hnaef paid a visit, whether friendly or otherwise is not clear, to Friesland, where he was slain by the followers of the Frisian king, Finn the son of Folcwalda. Hengest and his other warriors after a long struggle came to terms with Finn; but some of them eventually returned to Denmark and having obtained reinforcements attacked and slew him. Of Hengest's fate nothing is stated.

Now it is curious to note that this Hengest must have been a contemporary of his famous namesake. In Beowulf the Danish king Hrothgar is represented as a very old man and as having reigned for a very long period (*hund missera*, l. 1770). The time to which the poem refers is the first quarter of the sixth century. Healfdene, Hrothgar's father, may therefore have been reigning before the middle of the fifth century. Again, both Hengests come apparently from the same country. The Hengist of the Historia Brittonum is said to have come from Oghgul, which, as we shall see subsequently, is probably Angel in South Jutland. But the Hengest of the poems also comes from some part of the Danish kingdom[1]. As for the tribes to which they belonged that of the Kentish Hengest is called by Bede *Iutae* (*Iuti*), while in English translations we find *Ytena*, *Eota*, *Iutna*

[1] The fragment contains no reference to the Danes, but I cannot see that we have any right to doubt the evidence of Beowulf on this point. Moreover, a reminiscence of the story seems to have been preserved in the Skiöldunga Saga, cap. 4 in Arngrim Jónsson's epitome (reprinted in the Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed, 1894, p. 104 ff.), where it is stated that a Danish king named Leifus had seven sons, three of whom were called Hunleifus, Oddleifus and Gunnleifus. The last two of these names are identical with those of two of Hengest's warriors, Ordlaf and Guthlaf (Finn 18), while Hengest himself is in possession of a sword called Hunlafing (Beow. 1143). This can hardly be an accidental coincidence.

(Gen. pl.)[1], *Iotum* (Dat. pl.). The tribe to which the other Hengest belonged is called in Beowulf *Eotena* (Gen. pl.), *Eotenum* (Dat. pl.). To these forms we shall have to return later, but at all events it cannot be denied that there is a striking resemblance between them. Again, the Hengest of the Historia Brittonum is said to have been driven into exile. The fate of the other Hengest we do not know; but he can hardly have returned home after making peace with the man who had slain his lord. Exile is certainly what might be expected in such a case. Lastly, we may remember that the story of Finn, the son of Folcwalda, was evidently running in the mind of the scribe, from whom the genealogy of the Historia Brittonum (§ 31) is derived. On the whole therefore, if the invasion of Kent may be dated after 440, I think it is more probable than not that the two Hengests were identical.

[1] Cf. p. 5 and footnote.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SAXONS, ANGLES AND JUTES IN BRITAIN.

The people who invaded Britain in the fifth century are said to have belonged to three distinct nations, the Saxons, the Angles and the Jutes. The primary authority for this classification is a passage in Bede's Ecclesiastical History, I. 15, which, as it has always been regarded as the basis of investigation in English ethnology, deserves to be given here in full. "They had come," he says, "from three of the bravest nations of Germany, namely, from the Saxons, the Angles and the Jutes. The Cantuarii (i.e. the inhabitants of Kent) are of Jutish origin; and so are the Victuarii, i.e. the tribe which inhabits the Isle of Wight, and also that which is still called *Iutarum natio* in the territory of the West Saxons, occupying a position just opposite the Isle of Wight. The East Saxons, the South Saxons and the West Saxons came from the Saxons, i.e. from the country which is now called the country of the Old Saxons. Lastly, the East Angles, the Middle Angles, the Mercians and the whole population of Northumbria, i.e. the tribes which live to the north of the river Humber, together with the rest of the Anglian peoples—all these are sprung from the Angli, i.e. from a land which is called Angulus and which is said to have remained uninhabited from that time till the present day. It lies between the territories of the Jutes and those of the Saxons."

This is the only definite and comprehensive statement regarding the origin of the invaders which has come down to us. It has been copied by a host of later writers; but, so far at least as the classification of the tribes is concerned, nothing of

importance has been added. The only other statement on the subject which we need consider here is a passage in Procopius' Gothic War, IV. 20: "The island of Brittia contains three very populous nations, each of which has a king over it. The names borne by these nations are Angiloi and Phrissones and Brittones, the last having the same name as the island." In this passage, which dates of course from a time nearly two centuries earlier than Bede's work, no mention is made of Saxons or Jutes. Indeed these names do not occur at all in Procopius' writings. In place of them we find *Phrissones*, i.e. presumably the Frisians, who are also not mentioned again by Procopius. Apart from this passage we have no evidence that they took part in the invasion of Britain, though their language is closely related to English.

Historical evidence.

Bede's statements as to the origin of the various nations in Britain are so definite that we should certainly expect to get evidence for the same classification elsewhere. Such evidence however is not easy to find. In the first place, apart from the passage quoted above and other documents which are manifestly based on it, we never find the people of Kent described as Jutes. In historical and official documents the term usually applied to them is *Cantware* (*Cantuarii* etc.), while their kings bear the title *rex Cantuariorum* or *rex Cantiae*. But we also find them described both as *Saxones* and *Angli*. The former is the word regularly used in the Historia Brittonum for Hengest and his followers, while the country from which they are said to have come is called *Oghgul*, i.e. presumably *Ongul* (*Angel*). Even in the account given by Bede himself (Hist. Eccl. I. 14 f.) the same people are called *Saxones*, though here of course the name may have been taken over from Gildas. Again, in the Saxon Chronicle, ann. 473, the name applied to them is *Englan*. For this also we find parallels in the Ecclesiastical History. Thus in I. 32 Pope Gregory in a letter to Aethelberht, king of Kent, addresses him as *rex Anglorum*. It may be urged of course that Aethelberht's supremacy extended over some of the Angli. But this explanation will hardly hold good for another passage (III. 8), where Bede says that Erconberht, king of Kent, was the first of the

kings of the Angli to prohibit idolatry in his kingdom. So in II. 5 he states that Aethelberht's laws were written in the language of the Angli (*Anglorum sermone*). Taking all this evidence together and above all the fact that the people of Kent are not again called Jutes, one can hardly help concluding that, if Bede's account is correct, the name must have passed out of use very early. It is not necessary to suppose that it was current even in Bede's time, for we have seen that he appears to have used earlier documents in his narrative. In southern Hampshire the name of the Jutes seems to have survived longer (cf. p. 4 f.), but we have no evidence that it was anything more than a geographical term after the eighth century. Indeed were it not for Bede we should hardly know that the inhabitants of this district had originally been of a different nationality from the West Saxons.

If we turn now to the Angli we find in the first place that Welsh and Irish writers pretty regularly speak of them as *Saxones*. One or two examples will be sufficient. In the Historia Brittonum, § 57, the Northumbrians are described as *Saxones Ambronum*, the latter of which words is probably a scribal corruption of *Umbronum* (cf. *Hymbronensium* in a document dating from 680, quoted by Bede, H.E. IV. 15). In the Annales Cambriae, ann. 225 (i.e. A.D. 670–671), we find *Osguid rex Saxonum* (i.e. Oswio, king of the Northumbrians) *moritur*. So in the Annals of Tighernac, ann. 631 (?), the Northumbrian king Edwin is described as *Etuin mac Ailli regis Saxonum*. It is more surprising to find Pope Vitalianus addressing Oswio, king of the Northumbrians, as *Saxonum rex* (H.E. III. 29). But parallels can be obtained even for this. In a letter to Pope Gregory II, Hwaetberht, abbot of Wearmouth, speaks of himself as writing *de Saxonia* (Bede's *Hist. Abb.*, cap. 19; *Anon. Hist. Abb.*, cap. 30). Again, Eddius in his Life of Wilfrid, cap. 19, says that during Ecgfrith's reign the Picts refused to submit to the supremacy of the *Saxones*, by which of course the Northumbrians are meant. In cap. 21 he applies the same name to the English peoples south of the Humber. So in Felix' Life of St Guthlac, § 20, we find the expression *Brittones infesti hostes Saxonici generis*, where there is no reference to the

southern kingdoms. It is worth noting that the English version renders this passage by *Brytta þeod Angolcynnes feond.* Again, in Mercian charters English words are commonly described by the term *Saxonice*, e.g. *a difficultate illa quam nos Saxonice faestingmenn dicimus* (Birch, *Cart. Sax.* 416); *hominum illorum quos Saxonice nominamus Wallhfaereld* (ib. 488). It is true however that most of these charters refer to the province of the Hwicce, which is said to have belonged originally to Wessex.

The use of words derived from *Angel* for the Saxons is much more frequent. From the time of King Alfred onwards, the regular term for the native language in West Saxon works is *Englisc.* In the Chronicle, ann. 897, we are told that sixty-two Frisian and English (*Engliscra*) men were slain in a certain sea-fight, but it is clear from the context that the "English" must have belonged to Wessex or Sussex. So also with the expressions *Angelcyn*(*n*), "the English nation," and *Angelcynnes lond*, "England," lit. "the land of the English nation." When King Alfred in the introduction to his translation of the Cura Pastoralis deplores the decay of learning in *Angelcynn* his language does not in the least suggest that he is excluding the southern provinces from consideration[1]. In the Chronicle, ann. 787, we hear that three ships which arrived during the reign of Berhtric were the first Danish ships which came to *Angelcynnes lond.* But we know from other sources that these ships put in on the coast of Dorset. Again, in ann. 836 it is stated that Ecgberht, king of Wessex, had before his accession been expelled from *Angelcynnes land* for three years by Berhtric and Offa. In the same sense we find also the expression *Angelcynnes ealond*, e.g. in the will of Aelfred, earl of Surrey, a contemporary of King Alfred (Birch, *Cart. Sax.* 558). Indeed there are no other terms used in vernacular texts, translations of course excluded, either for the language or the country.

These facts are curious and certainly require explanation. Above all it is to be noticed that though we occasionally meet with the phrase *Engle and Seaxe*, we do not find the two peoples contrasted in any way, i.e. we have no evidence except in H.E.

[1] Cf. Asser, cap. 83, where the *all Angelcyn* of the Chronicle (ann. 886) is translated by *omnes Angli et Saxones.*

I. 15 for the use of *Saxones* or *Seaxan* for the inhabitants of Wessex, Sussex and Essex to the exclusion of the rest of the Teutonic inhabitants of Britain. In charters and historical works dating from the time of Alfred and his successors we sometimes meet with the expressions *rex Anglorum Saxonum* and *rex Angul-Saxonum*[1]. But it is by no means clear that these expressions stand for *rex Anglorum et Saxonum*; for the latter, which is a far more obvious phrase, is as a matter of fact extremely rare. Mr Stevenson holds that these expressions came into use in England to denote the political union of the Angles and Saxons, but he has pointed out that they came originally from the Continent, where the term *Engelsaxo* occurs in a Life of Alcuin dating from before 830. The Latin form *Angli Saxones* is used even earlier, by Paulus Diaconus (*Hist. Lang.* IV. 23, V. 37, VI. 15). By Continental writers however these terms appear to have been used to distinguish the English Saxons[2] from the Saxons of the Continent. Bede himself does seem to have drawn a distinction between the two peoples. Thus in two passages (H. E. III. 7, 22), he uses the phrase *Saxonum lingua* with reference to the inhabitants of Wessex and Essex, though he does not mention Saxon as a distinct language in his enumeration of the languages spoken in Britain (ib. I. 1). But in view of the evidence brought forward above we must clearly take into account the possibility that Bede's distinctions are the result of a theory. If we had not Bede's writings we should hardly hesitate to say that *Angel-*, *Engle*, *Englisc*, etc. were the native terms, and that *Saxones*, *Saxonia*, etc., which are almost entirely confined to works written in Latin, were terms of foreign origin. Indeed there are certain passages in Bede's own works which seem to indicate that he was himself not absolutely convinced that the Saxons and Angli were really

[1] Cf. Stevenson, *Asser's Life of King Alfred*, p. 148 ff. and notes, where a full list of references is given.

[2] Apparently 'Angles' as well as 'Saxons.' The words of the passage in the Life of Alcuin cited above (Jaffé, *Monumenta Alcuiniana*, p. 25: *Aigulfus presbyter Engelsaxo et ipse*) imply that Alcuin himself, a Northumbrian, was so called. The persons to whom the term is applied by Paulus are Ceadwalla, king of Wessex, and Hermelinda, wife of the Langobardic king Cunipert, whose origin is unknown. Her name suggests that she belonged to the Kentish royal family.

different peoples. Thus in H. E. I. 22 he says that one of the most grievous sins committed by the Britons was that they never preached the Gospel to the *gens Saxonum siue Anglorum*. If he had been convinced that the two nations were really distinct, he would surely have said *gentes Saxonum et Anglorum*. So in V. 9 he speaks of the *Angli uel Saxones* who inhabit Britain. We may further compare the account which he gives of the invasion. In I. 14 Vurtigernus decides to call in the *Saxones*. In the following chapter the *Anglorum siue Saxonum gens* arrive in three ships; subsequently the *Saxones* obtain a victory. In the epitome in V. 24 we are told that it was the *Angli* who came to Britain at the invitation of the Britons. Yet according to Bede's classification the people referred to in all these passages were Jutes. Lastly we may note that he constantly speaks of the *Anglorum ecclesia* as embracing all the Teutonic kingdoms in Britain. Yet in the earlier references the organisation described by this name extended only to districts inhabited by Saxons and Jutes.

Evidence of tradition.

As the historical evidence is inconclusive it will be convenient now to examine the genealogies of the various dynasties in order to see whether these point to any differences in the origin of the three peoples. Genealogies have been preserved of the royal families of Kent, Wessex, Essex, East Anglia, Mercia, Lindsey, Deira and Bernicia. The genealogies of the kings of the South Saxons, the Hwicce and the Hampshire Jutes are unfortunately lost. There is no evidence that Middlesex ever had a dynasty of its own, and though we once find a *subregulus* in Surrey, we know nothing of his origin. The only Saxon dynasties therefore for which evidence is available are those of Essex and Wessex. Now with the single exception of Essex all the genealogies which have been preserved go back to the god Woden. The East Saxon genealogy on the other hand is traced to a person named Seaxneat. The Appendix to Florence of Worcester's Chronicle makes him a son of Woden; but this is probably a later addition, as it does not occur in the earliest extant text of the genealogy, Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 23211 (published in Sweet's Oldest English Texts, p. 179). Now the form *Seaxneat* is clearly identical with *Saxnot*,

the name of one of the three gods mentioned in a short Continental document generally known as the 'Renunciation Formula[1]' and probably of Old Saxon origin. Here then we seem to have a definite link between the Saxons of Britain and those of the Continent.

Unfortunately, when we turn to the West Saxon genealogy, this clue fails entirely. For not only did the West Saxon family trace their descent from Woden but even from the same son of Woden, Baeldaeg by name, as the Bernician family—a fact which is the more remarkable because the genealogies of all the other dynasties, viz. those of Kent, East Anglia, Mercia, Lindsey and Deira, go back to different sons of Woden. Indeed it is by no means clear that the common element in the West Saxon and Bernician genealogies does not go further than this. The first three names in the former are Woden, Baeldaeg, Brand. In the latter there is considerable discrepancy between the various texts. It will be convenient here to give the first few names in each of the most important documents in which it occurs, viz. MS. Cott. Vesp. B 6 fol. 108 f. (published in Sweet's Oldest English Texts, p. 167 ff.), the Historia Brittonum, § 57, the Saxon Chronicle, ann. 547, and the Appendix to the Chronicle of Florence of Worcester.

Cott. Vesp.	Florence.	Hist. Brit.	Sax. Chron.
Woden.	Woden.	Woden.	Woden.
Beldaeg.	Baeldeag.	Beldeg.	Baeldaeg.
Beornic.	Brand.	Beornec.	Brand.
Wegbrand.	Beorn.	Gechbrond.	Benoc.
Ingibrand.	Beornd.	Aluson.	Aloc.
Alusa.	Waegbrand.	Inguec.	Angenwit.
Angengeot.	Ingebrand.		Ingui.
	Alusa.		
	Angengeat.		
	Ingengeat.		

It may of course be suggested that the name Brand has been introduced into the Bernician genealogy in the Chronicle from the West Saxon genealogy, and that the genealogy in Florence's Appendix has been influenced by that which he gives under the

[1] Published in M. Heyne's *Kleinere altniederdeutsche Denkmäler* (p. 88) and many other works.

year 547 and which is derived from the Chronicle. But on the other hand it is to be remembered that there is a literary connection between Cott. Vesp. B 6, Florence's Appendix and the Historia Brittonum. Moreover the series Woden—Beldeyg—Brond occurs in the Historia Brittonum (§ 61) at the head of the genealogy of Deira, where it is clearly out of place. It can hardly have come from the West Saxon genealogy, for the latter is not included either in the Historia Brittonum or in Cott. Vesp. B 6. I think, if we take the whole series of names into account, the evidence is distinctly favourable to the series given in the Chronicle. But if so, indeed to some extent in any case, we are bound to conclude that the West Saxon royal family claimed to be of the same stock as that of Bernicia. Consequently the argument drawn from the Essex genealogy is to a certain extent invalidated.

Linguistic evidence.

It is commonly asserted that Bede's classification of the English people into Saxons, Angles and Jutes is confirmed by linguistic evidence. This subject therefore cannot be passed over in silence, though it is impossible within the compass of a work like this to treat it adequately. It is true that dialectic differences are observable in the earliest texts which we possess, and we need have no hesitation in believing that many such differences were in existence during the seventh century. Unfortunately however our knowledge of the dialects is of a very unequal character. The West Saxon dialect is hardly known before the middle of the ninth century, though after this time the materials are abundant. Of Kentish much less has been preserved, but it goes back to a somewhat earlier date. Early Northumbrian is little known except from proper names, but these are sufficiently numerous to enable us to form an idea of the characteristics of the dialect during the eighth century. On the other hand we have practically no texts which can with certainty be called Mercian. In practice the name Mercian is applied to a number of dialects which differ from one another about as much as they do from Northumbrian or Kentish. The only texts which can certainly be ascribed to Essex or Sussex are a few Latin charters which contain some proper names.

It will be convenient to begin with a brief enumeration of the more important sound-changes by which English became differentiated from the neighbouring Teutonic languages. They are as follows:

TABLE A.

1. *a* has become labial (written *a*, *o*) before nasals; e.g. *land*, *lond*, "land" (Old High Germ. *lant*, Old Norse *land*).
2. *a* is palatalised (*æ*) in open syllables before palatal vowels and in all close syllables; e.g. *daeg*, "day" (O.H.G. *tac*, O.N. *dagr*).
3. *ā* (from earlier *ē*) has become *ō* before nasals; e.g. *mōna*, "moon" (O.H.G. *māno*, O.N. *máni*).
4. *ā* (from earlier *ē*) is palatalised (*ǣ*) in almost all other positions; e.g. *rǣd*, "counsel" (O.H.G. *rāt*, O.N. *ráð*).
5. *e* has become *i* before *m*; e.g. *niman*, "take" (O.H.G. *neman*, O.N. *nema*).
6. *o* has become *u* before nasals; e.g. *cuman*, "come" (O.H.G. *coman*, O.N. *koma*).
7. *a* (*æ*), *e*, *i*, *ǣ*, *ī* are diphthongised before *h*; e.g. *eahta*, "eight" (O.H.G. *ahto*, O.N. *átta*).
8. *a* (*æ*), *e*, *i* are diphthongised before *r* followed by a consonant; e.g. *earm*, "poor" (O.H.G. *arm*, O.N. *armr*).
9. *ai* has become *ā*; e.g. *āð*, "oath" (O.H.G. *eid*, O.N. *eiðr*).
10. *au* has become *ēa* (earlier *ǣa*); e.g. *strēam*, "stream" (O.H.G. *stroum*, O.N. *straumr*).
11. All vowels are palatalised before *i* in the following syllable; e.g. *brȳd*, "bride" (O.H.G. *brūt*, O.N. *brúðr*).
12. Nasals are lost with compensatory lengthening before voiceless spirants; e.g. *fīf*, "five" (O.H.G. *fimf*, *finf*, O.N. *fimm*).
13. Gutturals are palatalised before palatal vowels, though the distinction is seldom marked in writing (except in Runic inscriptions); e.g. *gearu*, *iaru*, "ready" (O.H.G. *garo*, O.N. *görr*).
14. *i* is diphthongised before a guttural (guttural-labial) vowel in the following syllable; e.g. *siofun*, *seofon*, "seven" (O.H.G. *sibun*).

When we say that English became differentiated from the neighbouring languages by these sound-changes, an important exception is to be made in the case of Frisian; for the latter shows all the above changes except 8, 10, and (in part) 7 and 9. Certain other reservations are also necessary. Thus 11 occurs also in the Scandinavian languages, though apparently under somewhat different conditions. The same languages seem also to have a change similar to 8 in the case of *e*, though the forms

which show this change are generally explained in a different way. Again nasals are lost in Scandinavian before *s*, and in Low German (Dutch etc.) before *f*.

In addition to the changes noted above there are others less distinctively English. Some of these are common to English and German but wanting in the Scandinavian languages.

Table B.

1. The voiced dental spirant (*đ*) has become an explosive (*d*) in all positions, whereas in Scandinavian this change occurs only initially and after *l*; e.g. *bīdan*, "wait," O. Dutch *bīdan* (O.N. *bīđa*).
2. Final *z* is lost, whereas in Scandinavian it becomes *r*; e.g. *hiorde*, "herdsman," O.H.G. *hirti* (O.N. *hirđir*). The High German dialects however have *r* in monosyllabic words after short vowels; e.g. *wir*, "we" (Engl. *we*, O.N. *vér*).
3. *z* has become *r* before *d*, whereas in Scandinavian assimilation takes place; e.g. *ord*, "point," O.H.G. *ort* (O.N. *oddr*).
4. Intervocalic *w* is lengthened in a number of words where Scandinavian has developed a long guttural; e.g. (*ge*)*trīowe*, "faithful," O.H.G. *gitriuwi* (O.N. *tryggr*).
5. All consonants are lengthened before *j*; e.g. *biddan*, "ask," O.H.G. *bitten* (O.N. *biđia*). The characteristics of this change are however somewhat different in the two languages. In Scandinavian this change affects only the gutturals (*k*, *g*).

Other changes are common to English and Scandinavian but wanting (wholly or in part) in German.

Table C.

1. *h* is lost between sonants; e.g. *sēon*, "see," O.N. *siá* (O.H.G. *sehan*). This change occurs in Low German at a much later period.
2. *e* is diphthongised before labial and guttural vowels; e.g. *geofu*, "gift," O.N. *giǫf* (O.H.G. *geba*). A similar change occurs in the case of *a* before labial vowels, but the effect in Scandinavian is not diphthongisation but labialisation. The phenomena and probably also the date of these changes vary a good deal between the different English dialects, but they are perceptible everywhere. They do not occur in German.

All the above changes except the last occur also in Frisian. Consequently there is no doubt that this language is by far the most nearly related to English. With regard to the other languages, if we bear in mind the resemblances noted under

Table A between English and Scandinavian, it will be seen that English occupies a position about midway between Scandinavian and German, approximating more to the former in the development of its vowel-system and to the latter in that of its consonants[1]. In the case of Frisian there is slightly less affinity with Scandinavian (cf. A 8, C 2). The evidence of the Old Saxon language would induce us to connect English, as well as Frisian, more closely with German than with Scandinavian, and as a matter of fact most scholars class English, Frisian and German together in a "West-Germanic" group. But in reality the language of the Old Saxon texts is not a pure dialect. A considerable number of forms occur (e.g. *bed*, "bed," *ōthar*, "other") which do not correspond to the sound-laws elsewhere observable in the language, and there can be little doubt that these variations are due to the introduction of an Anglo-Frisian element. Any argument therefore derived from the resemblance of this language to English is misleading. The relationship of these various languages with Gothic need not be discussed here. Whatever may be the ultimate affinities of that language, there is sufficient evidence that it differed greatly from Scandinavian, English and German alike at a time when the differences between these three languages themselves were insignificant.

We must now turn to the dialectical differences within the English language itself. For this purpose it will be most convenient to summarise the most important characteristics of the three dialects which we can definitely locate, viz. West Saxon, Kentish and Northumbrian.

Table D. Characteristics of the West Saxon Dialect.

1. *a* is diphthongised before *l* followed by a consonant; e.g. *eald*, "old" (North. *ald*). But the evidence is not entirely consistent.
2. Vowels are diphthongised after palatal consonants; e.g. *ceaster* (Lat. *castra*, early North. *caestir*).
3. The diphthongs *ea* (*æa*) and *ēa* (*ǣa*) when palatalised have become *i*, *ī* (earlier *ie*, *īe*); e.g. *miht*, "power" (North. *maeht*).
4. The diphthongs *iu*, *īu*, except before *u*, have become *i*, *ī* (earlier *ie*, *īe*); e.g. *nīwe*, "new" (North. *nīowe*).

[1] Apart, of course, from the sound-shifting in the High German dialects.

5. The diphthongs *iu*, *īu* (before *u*) and *eo*, *ēo* are confused; e.g. *seolfor* beside *siolfor* (*sil-*), *fioh* beside *feoh* (*feh-*).
6. The palatalised labial vowels *oe*, *ō̄*, *y*, *ȳ* (from *o*, *ō*, *u*, *ū*) have been delabialised (*e*, *ē*, *i*, *ī*); e.g. *cwēn*, "queen" (North. *cwō̄n*).
7. The diphthongs *ea*, *ēa*, *eo* (*iu*) are reduced to monophthongs (*ĕ*, *i*) before *h* (*ĕa* also before and after *c*, *g*); e.g. *cniht*, "boy" (beside *cneoht*).

Table E. Characteristics of the Kentish Dialect.

1. *a* is diphthongised before *l* followed by a consonant (cf. D 1). But the evidence is not entirely consistent.
2. *æ*, *ǣ*, whatever their origin have become *e*, *ē*; e.g. *deg*, "day" (W. Sax. *daeg*).
3. The diphthongs *ea*, *ēa* (*æa*, *ǣa*) when palatalised have become *e*, *ē* (earlier *æ*, *ǣ*?); e.g. *erfe*, "inheritance" (W. Sax. *irfe*).
4. The diphthongs *eo*, *ēo* and *iu*, *īu* are confused and subsequently delabialised; e.g. *beorht*, *biorht*, *biarht*, "bright" (North. *berht*).
5. The palatalised labial vowels *y*, *ȳ* (from *u*, *ū*) have become *e*, *ē*; e.g. *eppan*, "disclose" (earlier *yppan*).
6. Labial vowels in unaccented syllables are delabialised; e.g. *brōđar*, "brother" (earlier *brōđor*).

Table F. Characteristics of the Northumbrian Dialect.

1. All diphthongs lose their second element before guttural and palatal consonants (*c*, *g*, *h*); e.g. *werc*, "work" (W. Sax. *weorc*).
2. *ǣ* (from *ā*, cf. A 4) has become *ē*; e.g. *rēd*, "counsel" (W. Sax. *rǣd*).
3. The diphthong *ēa* (*ǣa*) when palatalised has become *ē* (earlier *ǣ*); e.g. *Ēdwine* (earlier *Aeduini*) beside *Ēadberht*.
4. The diphthong *ea* (*æa*) when palatalised has become *æ*; e.g. *maeht*, "power" (W. Sax. *miht*).
5. Certain vowels (*æ* and, in part, *ā*, *o*) are diphthongised after palatal consonants (*c*, *g*); e.g. *ceaster* (earlier *caestir*).
6. The diphthongs *ea*, *ēa* and *eo*, *ēo* are (to some extent at least) confused; e.g. *Ēod-* beside *Ēad-*[1].

The only early evidence for the dialect of Sussex seems to be one original charter (Birch, *Cart. Sax.* 1334) dating from 780. If we may judge from this the dialect occupied a position between West Saxon and Kentish. No examples occur of the

[1] To the above list we may add the loss of *-n* in inflections (except after *-u-*). This *-n* was still frequently written in the eighth century.

Northumbrian monophthongisation in F 1, while the diphthong is preserved in three cases. There are two examples of the West Saxon and Kentish diphthongisation of *a* before *l* followed by a consonant (D, E 1) and one example of the confusion of *eo* and *io* (D 5, E 4). The Kentish and Northumbrian change of *ǣ* to *ē* seems to be known (*Vuerfriđ* beside *Vuaermund*) and the treatment of the palatalised *ēa*-diphthong in *Siolesaei* likewise conforms to its treatment in those dialects. On the other hand the West Saxon *ie*- diphthong (D 3 or 4) appears in *Tielaes ora*.

There are a number of early texts which do not exhibit the characteristics of any of the dialects treated above and which are probably all to be ascribed to the Midlands. They differ very considerably among themselves; but all seem to show forms of language intermediate between Northumbrian and Kentish. Indeed they exhibit practically no sound-changes which do not occur in one or other of these dialects. The West Saxon and Kentish diphthongisation of *a* before *l* followed by a consonant (D, E 1) does not appear, nor do we find any trace of the specifically West Saxon changes D 3, 4, 6, 7. The Kentish changes E 5 and 6 are also wanting, while the delabialisation in E 4, though it does occur in the (East Anglian?) Vespasian Psalter, is confined to unaccented words. It is to be observed however that these changes do not appear in Kentish until a period later than that to which most of the Midland texts probably belong. There is very little evidence also for the change F 6, while F 5 is limited to the case of guttural vowels. On the other hand all these texts agree with Northumbrian in F 1, 2, 3, 4 and all the later ones show the Kentish (and West Saxon) confusion of *ĕo* and *ĭu*. The chief dialectical differences between the texts occur in regard to (i) the prevalence of diphthongisation through labial and guttural vowels in the following syllable (C 2) and (ii) the extent to which the change *æ* > *e* is carried out. From the evidence of later texts it seems probable that the dialects which show the latter change belong to the more eastern districts. None of the early Midland texts however exhibit this change so completely as Kentish.

We must now endeavour to ascertain as far as possible the

dates at which the various changes noted above took place. By far the easiest to fix are the Kentish changes E 5, 6 and the delabialisation in E 4. These do not occur in any texts earlier than the middle of the ninth century and may consequently be dated not very long before that time. This fact has an important bearing on a theory which has obtained much currency. It is frequently stated that the Kentish dialect is more nearly akin to Frisian than any of the other English dialects, because both Kentish and Frisian have *ĕ* through palatalisation of *ŭ*, whereas the other dialects have *y̆* (later *ĭ*). As early Kentish also had *y̆*, and as *ĕ* does not make its appearance for about four hundred years after the invasion, there does not seem to be much probability of a historical connection between the Frisian and Kentish changes. Indeed, if they must be connected, it would seem more probable to attribute the fact to intercourse between Kent and the Netherlands at a later period. As a matter of fact the early Kentish texts show no dialectical peculiarities which do not occur also either in Midland or West Saxon texts. In the very earliest even *e* for *æ* is quite rare.

In other cases we do not actually get texts anterior to the operation of the sound-changes, but in the earliest we see some of these changes still incomplete. Such is the case with D 5, 6, 7, E 2, 4, F 2, 5, 6. There is no probability that any of these changes go back beyond the middle of the seventh century, while some of them (e.g. D 7) may even date from the ninth century. I have given reasons elsewhere[1], partly on account of the phenomena of contraction through the loss of *h* and partly on account of the preservation of *æ* in such words as *maeht*, for believing (i) that the change $\bar{æ} > \bar{e}$ (F 2) took place both in the Northumbrian and Midland dialects later than the monophthongisation in F 1, and (ii) that the latter change was subsequent to the palatalisation of vowels before *i* (A 11). In certain Midland dialects it was also subsequent to the diphthongisation before labial vowels (C 3). As the changes D 3, 4, E 3, F 3, 4 all arise from A 11, the determination of the date of the latter change is of great importance. It is to this therefore that we must next turn our attention.

[1] Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society, Vol. IV. pp. 97, 103, 115 ff.

The evidence at our disposal does not justify the supposition that this palatalisation took place in very early times. In the first place Bede's Ecclesiastical History preserves a number of forms which do not show this change. Setting aside such names as *Cantia* and *Lundonia* which may be of Gallo-Roman origin, though this is by no means certain, we find in the earliest (Moore) MS. a few forms, e.g. *Saberct* (*Saeberht*), *Guruiorum* IV. 19 (*Gyrwa*), *Vurtigerno* I. 14 (*Wyrtgeorn*), which are clearly derived from earlier texts and which can hardly be explained in any other way. Again in the Historia Brittonum the name of the Mercian king Penda (626?—655) appears several times in the form *Pantha*, which seems to be Welsh orthography. On some ancient coins we find the name *Pada* in Runic letters. It is very probable from their weight and design that they were issued by the same king. The absence of *-n-* is hardly a serious objection, as parallels can be found in early Scandinavian Runic inscriptions. On the other hand many words borrowed from Latin appear in English with palatalisation. Some of these were no doubt borrowed as early as the fifth century, a few possibly even before the invasion of Britain. But there are a number of specifically Christian words, e.g. *mynster* (*monasterium*), *engel* (*angelus*), *ercebiscop* (*archiepiscopus*), which can hardly be so old. Indeed it seems to me quite incredible that they can have become current in England before the conversion of Kent at the end of the sixth century. Names of places in Gaul such as *Persa* (*Parisiorum*) and *Embenum* (*Ambianis*)—with which we may also compare the name *Wendelsae*—are less capable of being dated, though it is scarcely probable that they were known much before the sixth century. In Britain however, where such cases are of course far more numerous, we find some examples, e.g. *Wreocen-* (*Vriconium*), which are not likely to have been acquired much before the end of that century.

Moreover there is a certain amount of indirect evidence. The existence of forms like *Edwine* beside *Eadgar* seems to show that palatalisation was effected by the presence of *i* in the second member of a compound and consequently that this change was operative after the final vowel of the first member had disappeared. But if we are to trust the evidence of the

MSS. of Gregory of Tours this final vowel was still retained in Frankish in the first half of the sixth century, while in Scandinavian according to the generally accepted view it lasted much longer. Again, it is usually held, and doubtless rightly, that the palatalisation of guttural consonants (A 13) preceded the palatalisation of vowels. Yet this change also occurs in ecclesiastical loan-words, e.g. *ercebiscop*, *cirice* (*κυριακόν*). No doubt these words were borrowed in the first instance from Frankish; but the palatalisation of consonants is foreign to that language. We may compare certain names of Welsh origin, e.g. *Caedmon*, *Ceadwalla*, which show the Welsh sound-change $t > d$ (cf. p. 30) and which on historical grounds also are not likely to date from before the beginning of the seventh century. Taking the whole evidence into account, therefore, we need have little hesitation in concluding that the palatalisation of vowels was operative during the early part of the seventh century.

The only dialectical characteristics which can be traced back to a period anterior to this palatalisation are the changes given in D, E 1, D 2. The latter, the diphthongisation after palatal consonants, is clearly later than the palatalisation of guttural consonants (A 13), which, as we have seen, was apparently still operative about the beginning of the seventh century. The former, the diphthongisation of *a* before *l* followed by a consonant, cannot be dated; but since the evidence for the change is not consistent either in West Saxon or Kentish, it is not very likely to be of great antiquity. On the whole then the evidence seems to justify us in concluding that none of the existing phonetic differences between West Saxon, Kentish and Northumbrian go back beyond the middle of the sixth century.

Indeed there is every reason for believing that the changes A 2, 4, 5, 9, which are common to all dialects and clearly older than those discussed above, themselves operated after the invasion of Britain. As instances we may give a few names and loan-words which show these changes; e.g. *Limen* (*Portus Lemanus*), *Saefern* (Lat. *Sabrina*, but really from O. Welsh **Sabréna*), *caestir* (Lat. *castra*), *straegl* (Lat. *strāgulum*), *naep* (Lat. *nāpus*)—all of which seem to occur only in English. The changes $i > e$ and $e > i$ (under certain conditions), which are found also in German and Scandina-

vian, appear to have operated during the same period; e.g. *Breten* (*Britannia*), *Pehtas* (*Picti*), *Treanta* (*Trisanton*), *Bregentford* (*Brigantio-*), *Wiht* (*Vectis*), *Wintanceaster* (*Venta*), *Cynete* for earlier **Cunit-* (*Cunetio*), *Wyrtgeorn* for earlier **Wirtigern-* (*Vertigernus*). It is true of course that we cannot prove when such words as *cest* (*cista*) and *pinn* (*penna*) were borrowed, but the above list contains several examples in which the idea of borrowing before the invasion is absurd.

In the above discussion I have taken no account of the possibility that any East Saxon texts may have survived, though considering the importance of London, even in early times, it might naturally be expected that this dialect would not be entirely unrepresented. As a matter of fact we have one original East Saxon charter, dating from 692–3 and written unfortunately in Latin. It contains however a good number of proper names. Now these names show two examples of the Northumbrian and Midland change F 1, four examples of the Northumbrian, Midland and Kentish change $\bar{æ} > \bar{e}$ (F 2) as against one example of $\bar{æ}$ preserved, and two examples of the Kentish change $æ > e$ (E 2). There are no examples of any of the West Saxon sound-changes (Table D), except one case of D 5, a change however which occurs also in the Kentish and Midland dialects. The forms as a whole show a remarkable resemblance to those of the Epinal Glossary, and I have elsewhere given reasons for believing that the latter is derived from an East Saxon text[1]. In both cases the dialect seems to lie midway between Kentish and Northumbrian, or rather between Kentish and the East Midland dialects, for specific characteristics of the Northumbrian dialect do not occur, while the confusion of $\breve{e}o$ and $\breve{i}u$, which appears also in Epinal, is alien to the early texts of that dialect. Some confirmation of this conclusion may be obtained from the East Saxon genealogy published in Sweet's *Oldest English Texts*, p. 179, and which we may reasonably suppose to be ultimately of East Saxon origin. In this genealogy we may particularly note three examples of $\bar{e}$ from $\bar{e}a$ ($\bar{æ}a$) through palatalisation (E, F 3), while in regard to monophthongisation its evidence, like that of the Epinal glossary, is inconsistent.

[1] *op. cit.* p. 249 ff.

It thus appears that, so far as our evidence goes, the affinities of the early East Saxon dialect lay with Kentish on the one side and with the East Midland dialects on the other, and not with West Saxon at all. This result is what might naturally be expected if, as we have been led to conclude, the dialectical variations of the English language came into existence at a time considerably subsequent to the invasion. The formation of the dialects is thus probably to be attributed to political divisions, while their affinities seem to be determined by geographical proximity, independently of any consideration as to whether the neighbouring kingdoms were Saxon, Anglian or Jutish. The evidence of the Midland dialects enables us to bridge over the gap between Northumbrian and Kentish, and the evidence of the South Saxon charter quoted above, so far as it goes, helps to link Kentish with West Saxon. Had we more information concerning the Mercian and Hwiccian dialects we should probably be able to trace the connection between Northumbrian and West Saxon in the same way. The conclusion therefore to which we are brought is that, while the linguistic evidence as a whole is of value for determining the relationship of the people who invaded Britain to the Teutonic nations of the Continent, the dialects prove absolutely nothing as to the presence of different nationalities among the invaders.

It may perhaps be said that we have confined our attention to phonetic changes and left the case of inflections out of account. As a matter of fact however the inflectional variations observable in texts earlier than the tenth century are very slight. Moreover they are almost all due either to the progress of simplification (syncretism) in the verbal and nominal systems (e.g. the loss of the 1. sing. Pres. Indic. in West Saxon) or to assimilation between the different classes of conjugational or declensional stems. On such variations it is clear that no stress can be laid. Examples of the retention in different dialects of originally different inflectional forms are extremely rare. The most important case is that of the Gen. Dat. sing. fem. and Gen. pl. of the demonstrative pronoun, which show two parallel stems, *þez-* and *þaiz-*, corresponding to the forms used in German and Scandinavian respectively. The former series appears in the

Northumbrian and East Midland dialects and the latter in West Saxon and other Midland dialects (Mercian?), while Kentish texts vary between the two. I doubt very much however whether anything can be built on this variation, especially as it is probable that the *þez*-stem originally belonged to the Gen. Dat. sing. fem. and the *þaiz*-stem to the Gen. pl.

On the other hand it is quite possible that the dialects may have differed considerably in vocabulary. Owing however to the paucity of early evidence, except for West Saxon, it is impossible to speak with certainty on this question. The vocabularies of poetic and prose works differ of course greatly, but that is the case in all Teutonic languages. There is one striking fact however which deserves to be mentioned in this place. The terminology of the Kentish laws is very different indeed from that of the West Saxon laws, even from those of Ine, the earliest of the latter. It is worth while here to note a few of these differences. Thus we find *dryhten*, 'lord,' against W. Sax. *hlaford*, *eorl* (*eorlcund*), 'nobleman,' against W. Sax. *gesiđ* (*gesiđcund*), *leodgeld* or *leod*, 'wergeld,' against W. Sax. *wergild* or *wer*, *cann* (*gecaennan*), 'exculpation,' against W. Sax. *lad* (*ladian*), *þing* and *maeđl* 'meeting' (but apparently different kinds of meetings) against W. Sax. *gemot*. Again the Kentish laws contain a number of words which do not occur elsewhere, e.g. *laadrinc*, *drihtinbeag*, *hlafaeta*, *laet*, *manwyrđ*, *stermelda*, *freolsgefa*, *unlaegne*. In several of these cases the meaning is not exactly known, a fact which is one of the chief sources of difficulty in the interpretation of the Kentish laws. But it is a question whether we are justified in assuming that these differences of terminology are due to original differences of language. The laws of Aethelberht are considerably older than any other code which we possess, and it is possible that some of the words which appear in the later Kentish laws were becoming antiquated. Thus, e.g., *dryhten* is an old poetic word which appears in other Teutonic languages and which has clearly been displaced by the specifically English word *hlaford*. In the latest of the Kentish laws, those of Wihtred, we actually find *gesiđcund*, apparently in place of *eorlcund*. It is not unlikely therefore that the peculiarities of terminology observable in the

Kentish laws are due, to some extent at least, to their greater antiquity.

Archaeological evidence.

The next class of evidence which we have to take into account is that of archaeology. This subject is for several reasons peculiarly difficult to deal with. In the first place, the remains of Anglo-Saxon antiquity have been treated with the greatest negligence in the past. Secondly, no comprehensive catalogues have yet been made. Further, many of those who have discussed the subject have been ignorant of the Anglo-Saxon language and literature and thus have been led to classify their materials according to the lines laid down by historians. Consequently, important as the subject undoubtedly is, the conclusions which have as yet been put forward must be received with caution.

It is frequently stated that in pre-Christian times the Angles practised cremation and the Saxons inhumation. Both customs were known to the Teutonic nations of the Continent, but from the fourth century onwards cremation began to pass out of use among those which were settled nearest to the Roman frontiers. In Scandinavian lands it was apparently still practised in the sixth century[1], but in the Viking age it seems to have been generally given up except in certain districts, especially the part of Jutland which lies north of the Liimfjord. The last (Teutonic) instances come from Russia, where it appears to have been still in use during the early part of the tenth century. It is plain then that most Teutonic nations changed their practice in regard to the disposal of the dead before they adopted Christianity. In spite of this however, if the evidence for the Angles and Saxons was consistent, the distinction would undoubtedly be of considerable importance. But as a matter of fact this is not the case. In the first place it is now universally recognised that the Angles practised inhumation as well as cremation. The question at issue therefore is whether the Saxons did or did not practise cremation. Un-

[1] But inhumation appears to have been known in all parts of Denmark from the Roman period onwards. In Sjælland it is believed to have been the more usual custom; cf. S. Müller, *Nordische Altertumskunde* (Germ. Transl.), II. pp. 71 ff., 102 ff.

doubted cases occur in Kent and the Isle of Wight, but these of course may be attributed to the Jutes. The cremation cemeteries at Croydon and Beddington are also perhaps inconclusive, since these places are near the Kentish border. Other examples however have been found at Walton-on-Thames and at Shepperton in the extreme south-west of Middlesex[1], where the presence of Jutes is improbable. Moreover it is at least possible that several instances of cremation dating from the Anglo-Saxon period have been found in Essex, though owing to the fact that no careful observations were made not one of these cases is free from doubt. Hampshire (apart from the Isle of Wight) and Hertfordshire appear to have yielded no examples as yet; but it should be noted that the number of cemeteries found in these counties is extremely small. In Sussex traces of cremation have been found in two Saxon cemeteries[2]. It is held that the remains in question date from pre-Saxon times (the bronze age or the Roman period); but one would like to know whether the evidence on this point is really conclusive. Lastly, in the upper part of the Thames valley the practice was certainly prevalent, especially in Berkshire[3]. In particular we may note the large cemetery at Long Wittenham, near Abingdon, which yielded no less than forty-six urns with burnt remains.

In the present state of our knowledge therefore I do not think that we are justified in concluding more than that cremation was less common in the southern districts, whether Saxon or Jutish, than in those further north. This fact however does not necessarily involve our supposing that the inhabitants of the northern and southern districts were originally of different nationalities. The prevalence of inhumation in the south may equally well be due to Continental influence, for the Franks had apparently given up cremation some considerable time before

[1] *Victoria History of Surrey*, I. pp. 258 ff., 268.

[2] *Victoria History of Sussex*, I. pp. 337, 338 and note 5.

[3] viz. at Long Wittenham (*Archaeologia* XXXVIII. 331 ff., XXXIX. 135 ff.), Frilford (*ib.* XLII. 417 ff., XLV. 405 f.), Earley, near Reading (*Journal of the Brit. Arch. Ass.*, L. 150), and possibly at East Shefford (*Proceedings of the Soc. of Ant.*, XIII. 107 f.). One case was found at Fairford, Gloucestershire, and several at Brighthampton, Oxfordshire (*Archaeologia* XXXIV. 80, XXXVII. 391 ff., XXXVIII. 84 ff.). For several of these references I have to thank Mr T. J. George.

their conversion at the end of the fifth century, and we have already seen (p. 17) that brooches and other articles found in southern cemeteries give evidence for a considerable amount of intercourse with that nation.

Another distinction between Anglian and Saxon cemeteries has been traced in the different types of brooches found in them. Besides the varieties mentioned on p. 17, which are believed to have been imported or copied from Continental models, there are four more or less common types of brooches found in heathen Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, namely the annular, the square-headed, the cupelliform (saucer-shaped), and the cruciform. The two former are found both in the northern and southern counties as well as on the Continent. The cruciform type, of which there are several varieties, is generally said to be peculiar to the more northern parts of England, beginning with Bedfordshire. A number of specimens however have recently been found in Sussex[1]. Outside this country it occurs in Slesvig, Denmark and Sweden, and more especially in Norway, where it is very common[2]. On the other hand, cupelliform brooches are believed not to occur outside this country at all, and it has been stated that they are found only in Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire and Gloucestershire. Now the theory has been put forward and gained much currency that the cruciform brooch was distinctive of the Angles and the cupelliform of the Saxons. But in order to obtain any semblance of probability for this theory it is surely necessary to show that the cupelliform brooch was used in Essex and in the counties south of the Thames valley. Yet little

[1] *Archaeologia* LIV. 377 f.

[2] According to Undset, *Aarbøger f. nord. Oldkyndighed*, 1880, p. 150, the specimens found in Norway up to the time of writing numbered 160. Danish museums contained fifteen specimens, of which nine were known to have come from Jutland and Slesvig and two from Fyen (*ib.*, p. 173, note). The Kiel museum possessed twenty specimens which had been found at Borgstedterfeld, between Rendsburg and Eckernförde (*ib.*, p. 130 f.; cf. Mestorf, *Urnenfriedhöfe in Schleswig-Holstein*, p. 69 ff. and Pl. IX.), while others had been found at Perleberg, near Stade. According to the same authority (*l.c.*) these districts were the original home of the type, though, since Stade seems to be its extreme limit, the expression 'egnene ved Elbens munding' is surely somewhat misleading. The cruciform brooches occasionally found in southern Germany (cf. Lindenschmidt, *Die Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit*, I. 2, Taf. VIII, figs. 8, 9) appear to be of a different type.

evidence to this effect has been brought forward up to now[1]. Moreover the facts as to its occurrence in the Midlands have been incorrectly stated. Numerous examples have been found in Bedfordshire[2], Northamptonshire[3] and Cambridgeshire[4]; isolated cases also in Huntingdonshire and Rutland[5]—all Anglian districts. From the evidence at our disposal therefore the only justifiable inference, so far as I can see, is that this type of brooch was not distinctively Saxon but a local peculiarity of the southern Midlands. Indeed the fact that it is found chiefly in districts which probably did not come into English hands before the latter part of the sixth century rather suggests that it may have been ultimately of British origin. But this is a question which must be left for experts in technology to decide.

Sociological evidence.

The last subjects which remain to be discussed are the political and social systems of ancient England. The evidence for the existence of kings goes back to the beginning of historical times in all the Teutonic communities of Britain. Procopius (*Goth.* IV. 20) speaks of kings in the time of Theodberht, and the traditions carry the institution back to the first invaders. Whether royalty was known before this time or not is a question to which we shall

[1] In Berkshire specimens have frequently been found, rarely, however, in Wiltshire or Hampshire; cf. *Archaeologia* XXXV. 268 (near Salisbury), XXXVII. 113 f. (Kemble), *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, XIX. 125 ff. (Droxford). A few are said to have been found also in Sussex (*Vict. Hist.*, I. pp. 339, 343).

[2] *Victoria History of Bedfordshire*, I. p. 180.

[3] The Northampton museum possesses twenty-six specimens found within the county, viz. nineteen (seven pairs) at Duston, one at Northampton, one pair at Newnham, one pair at Marston St Lawrence and one pair at Holdenby. In all these places brooches of 'Anglian' type were also found. For this information also I am indebted to the kindness of Mr T. J. George.

[4] The Cambridge museum possesses fourteen brooches (seven pairs) of this type, twelve of which were found at Barrington and two at Haslingfield. Other specimens have been found at Barrington.

[5] *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 1899, pp. 347, 349; *Associated Architectural Societies' Reports*, XXVII. p. 225. For these references I have to thank Mr V. B. Crowther-Beynon. The brooch figured by Akerman, *Pagan Saxondom*, Pl. VIII. 2, 3, from Driffield, Yorkshire, seems to be of a very similar type. Specimens have also been found in Warwickshire (*Vict. Hist.*, I. 262) and Worcestershire (*Vict. Hist.*, I. 228).

have to return in a later chapter. At all events there is no evidence for any difference between the Saxon, Anglian and Jutish communities in this respect. The same remark applies in general to the various officials in the service of the kings.

It is only when we come to consider the structure of society that we find at last a remarkable difference between the kingdoms of Wessex and Kent. The population of the former kingdom was divided into three hereditary classes which bore the names *twelfhynde, sixhynde* and *twihynde* from the amount of their wergelds, viz. 1200, 600 and 200 shillings respectively. The two higher classes were also called *gesiðcund*, 'noble,' while the name usually applied to members of the lowest class was *ceorl*. The difference between the *twelfhynde* and *sixhynde* classes seems to have lain in the fact that the former, either as individuals or families, held land to the extent of five hides—which practically means possession of a village—while the latter were landless, i.e. without this amount of land. Below the ceorl came the free Welsh population with wergelds ranging from 60 sh. to 120 sh., except in the case of horsemen in the king's service and persons who held five hides of land, the wergelds of whom were 200 sh. and 600 sh. respectively. In Kent we likewise meet with three classes of society, but they are not the same. The terms applied to members of the three classes were *eorlcund man* 'nobleman,' *ceorl* or *frig man*, 'freeman,' and *laet* respectively. The last word does not occur elsewhere in Anglo-Saxon literature, but there can be little doubt that it is identical with the term *litus*, *lazzus* etc. which appears frequently in the Continental laws. The persons described by this term seem to have been freedmen or at all events persons without the full rights of freemen. The wergelds of the three Kentish classes were: for the *eorlcund man* 300 sh., for the ceorl 100 sh., and for the *laet* 80, 60 or 40 sh.

It is not the differences of terminology between the two systems which chiefly deserve our attention. As a matter of fact we have seen that the West Saxon term *gesiðcund* appears in Wihtred's laws, the latest of the Kentish codes, while *ceorl* is common to both systems. The points to which our attention should especially be directed are the following: (i) The West

Saxon nobility were divided into two classes; we have no evidence for such a division in Kent. (ii) In Kent we find a class or classes of persons below the ordinary freemen; there is no evidence for such classes in Wessex (apart from the Welsh population). (iii) There is an extraordinary difference in the amounts of the wergelds. This fact will be best appreciated by giving the various sums according to the number of silver coins they contained and according to their purchasing power in live-stock. At the beginning of the tenth century the West Saxon shilling contained five pence and the ox was worth thirty pence. The wergelds therefore would be as follows:

1200 sh. = 6000 pence = 200 oxen.
600 sh. = 3000 pence = 100 oxen.
200 sh. = 1000 pence = $33\frac{1}{3}$ oxen.

In Ine's time the shilling seems to have contained only four pence and the ox was probably valued at six shillings. The number of pence contained in the wergelds therefore would be 4800, 2400 and 800 respectively, while the figures in oxen would be the same as in later times. Now the Kentish shilling was at first probably a gold coin (the Roman solidus). In Aethelberht's laws however it is equated with twenty silver coins (*sceattas*), which cannot have differed much in standard from the West Saxon penny. Consequently the number of coins contained in the wergelds would be: for the noble 6000, for the freeman 2000, and for the laet 1600, 1200 and 800, even in the seventh century; while reckoned in live-stock the same wergelds would in the time of Wihtred, Ine's contemporary, amount presumably to about 250 oxen, $83\frac{1}{3}$ oxen etc. But in Kent the amount of the wergelds in money was fixed as early as the time of Aethelberht, when the ox was probably valued at a shilling. Hence the number of oxen would originally be 300 for the noble and 100 for the freeman. It is true of course that if the West Saxon wergelds were fixed in money at this early time, the original numbers of oxen would be 240, 120, and 40. But we have no evidence that this was the case. At all events it is clear that the wergeld of the Kentish ceorl or freeman was originally at least two and a half times, and more probably three times, as great as that of the West Saxon ceorl.

But this extraordinary difference is not confined to the case of wergelds. It is still more conspicuous in the payments known as *mund* or *mundbyrd*. These words literally mean 'protection' (*tutela*), but they are applied also to the sums due as compensation to a man for trespass, bloodshed and other unlawful acts committed in places or against persons under his protection. In Wessex the *mund* of the *twelfhynde* class seems to have been valued at 30—36 sh., that of the *sixhynde* class at 15—18 sh., and that of the ceorl at 5—6 sh. The variation between 5—6 etc. is probably to be explained by a change in the value of the ox. If so, the original payments were six oxen, three oxen, and one ox respectively. In Kent on the other hand the corresponding payments were for the ceorl 6 sh. and for the noble apparently 12 sh. If what has been said above is correct these sums originally meant six oxen and twelve oxen. The difference therefore is still greater than in the case of the wergelds. Again, if we turn to compensations for bodily injuries we find, e.g., that the payment due to a ceorl for the loss of an eye or foot is in Wessex 66⅔ sh., i.e. 266 (later 333) coins, and in Kent 50 sh., i.e. 1000 coins. Similar differences run through all scales of payments contained in the laws.

So far we have taken account only of the social systems of Wessex and Kent. The evidence available for Mercia and Northumbria is unfortunately of a fragmentary character, while for the other kingdoms there is no evidence at all. In regard to wergelds Mercian and West Saxon custom did not differ at all except (in later times) in the value of the shilling, which in Mercia always contained four pence. In the seventh century therefore the wergelds would be identical. Even the same terms, at all events *twelfhynde* as well as *ceorl*, were applied to the social classes of both kingdoms. On payments for *mund* we have little information, but the slight indications which we have point to the same sums as in Wessex. It may be added that the system of compurgation used in the two kingdoms seems to have been very similar if not identical, whereas the Kentish system, though far from clear, was certainly of a very different character.

The Northumbrian evidence is more difficult to deal with, partly because a different monetary system seems to have been

in use in that kingdom and partly because we are almost entirely dependent on fragments of ancient custom which have been preserved in the later Danish and Scottish laws. In the Northleoda Lagu, a code which dates from the time of Scandinavian government in this part of the country, the ceorl's wergeld is said to have been 266 *thrymsas*. The *thryms* seems originally to have contained three silver coins of lower standard than those of Mercia (a scripulum or $17\frac{1}{2}$ gr. as against the siliqua or 21 gr.); in later times however it probably meant three pence. The ceorl's wergeld was therefore the same (800 pence) as in Mercia. A much later Scottish law[1], which reckons in ores of sixteen pence, gives the same wergeld at 48 ores. The apparent difference between the two amounts is probably due to confusion of reckoning by weight and reckoning by tale. According to the same Scottish law the thegn's wergeld was 300 ores, i.e. 4800 pence. In Archbishop Ecgberht's *Dialogus* the priest's wergeld, which elsewhere is identical with that of the thegn, is fixed at 800 sicli. As the siclus contained six scripula and the early Northumbrian coins were of this standard, this wergeld likewise would contain 4800 coins. It is extremely probable therefore that the Northumbrian wergelds were originally identical in regard to the number of coins they contained (though not in weight) with those of Mercia. It is true that we cannot prove the existence of a Northumbrian class with a wergeld corresponding to that of the *sixhynde* class; but this may be due to the meagreness of our information. In the other cases the correspondence is all the more striking in view of the fact that the two kingdoms had entirely different monetary systems. Beyond this we know very little of ancient Northumbrian custom. Ecgberht's *Dialogus* shows however that their system of compurgation was similar to that of Mercia and Wessex and that their nobility was hereditary. It may be added that the Welsh population seem to have had much the same wergelds as in Wessex. There is no trace of any class corresponding to the Kentish *laet*-class either in Northumbria or Mercia.

So far then as our evidence goes the social systems of Wessex, Mercia and Northumbria appear to have been very similar—

[1] Cf. Seebohm, *Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law*, p. 307 ff.

indeed we may say practically identical. Hence the peculiar character of the Kentish system, standing as it does in marked contrast with the other three, strikes us as all the more remarkable. How then are these facts to be explained? It may perhaps be urged that Kent was the richest of the English kingdoms at the beginning of historical times; but this explanation is manifestly inadequate. Moreover, when we come to compare the English social systems with those of Teutonic nations outside this country, we see that it is not the Kentish system but that of the other three kingdoms which is really exceptional. It will be convenient here to give a table of the wergelds which were in use among the more northern of the Continental nations:

	Noble	Freeman	Litus or freedman
Franks		200 sol. [200 sol.]	litus 100 sol. (Lex Sal.) freedman 36 sol. (Lex Rib.)
Alamanni		240, 200, 160 [160] sol.	freedman 80 sol.
Bavarians	320 sol.	160 sol. [160 sol.]	freedman 40 sol.
Frisians	106⅔ sol.	53⅓ [160] sol.	litus 26⅔ sol.
Old Saxons	960 sol.[1]	[160 sol.]	litus 120 sol.
Lex Angliorum et Werinorum	600 sol.	200 sol.	freedman 80 sol.

The figures in square brackets are the amounts stated in the Lex Ribuaria, cap. 36, to be payable in cases where a Frisian, Saxon, Alaman or Bavarian was killed by a Frank. The Frisian wergelds given above are those fixed for the East Frisian district (between the Lauwer Zee and the Weser) by the Lex Frisonum. From a comparison with the Lex Rib. 36 and other sources it seems extremely probable that they have been reduced by two-thirds, perhaps in consequence of the substitution by the Franks of the silver solidus (of twelve denarii) for the gold solidus (originally forty denarii); for the latter appears to have remained in use for a longer period among the Frisians. In the case of the Old Saxons the passage in the Lex Ribuaria is our only authority for the amount of the freeman's wergeld, for through a singular oversight this wergeld is not stated in the Lex Saxonum.

[1] The amount stated is 1440 sol. of two tremisses. Elsewhere the reckoning is in solidi of three tremisses.

One can hardly help feeling some suspicion at the small difference between it and the wergeld of the litus, especially in view of the gradations in fines, etc. applicable to the two orders. Lastly, in regard to the Franks it is generally held that one-third of the wergeld was paid to the judicial authority (*pro fredo*) as in the Lex Chamauorum. The amount distributed among the relatives would therefore be only $133\frac{1}{3}$ sol.[1].

With the possible exception of the Lex Angliorum et Werinorum all these wergelds are expressed in gold solidi. The amount of the freeman's wergeld is therefore in every case considerably greater even than that of the Kentish freeman. What we have to determine however is the purchasing power (in live-stock) of these sums at the time when the wergelds were first fixed in gold. Now in the Lex Rib. 36 and the Lex Sax. 34 the price of the ox is said to be two (gold) solidi. It is to be remembered however that the Lex Saxonum dates in all probability from the ninth century, while, though the Lex Ribuaria is much older, the greater part of cap. 36 is believed to be a late interpolation. In the Lex Alamannorum, which dates probably from 709—730, the price of the ox (cap. 80) is said to be five tremisses (for the best ox) or four tremisses (for the average ox). If we take the latter as the standard the Frankish freeman's wergeld would originally amount to 100 oxen, while that of the other nations would be 120 oxen. In any case however, even supposing that the price of the ox fixed by the Lex Alamannorum was exceptionally low for its time—a hypothesis for which there does not seem to be sufficient justification—it is clear that the freeman's wergeld in all these nations was originally of the Kentish type. It is further worth noting that the Lex Angliorum et Werinorum, a document which we shall have to discuss in the next chapter, agrees with the Kentish laws in assigning the noble a wergeld three times as great as that

[1] This view is somewhat difficult to reconcile with the table in Lex Rib. 36, for it is known that among the Alamanni and Bavarians at least the payment *pro fredo* (40 sol.) was not included in the wergeld (160 sol.). The passage in question is generally believed to be a late interpolation, subsequent to the Frankish conquest of the Frisians and Saxons. But in any case one would hardly have expected persons belonging to these nations to be allowed a higher wergeld than the native Franks.

of the freeman. Among the Old Saxons the difference between the two wergelds must have been greater than this, whether we take the statement of the Lex Ribuaria as representing the true wergeld of the Saxon freeman or not. Among the Frisians and Bavarians, on the other hand, the wergeld of the noble is only twice as great as that of the freeman. The Franks and Alamanni[1] appear to have had no hereditary nobility, strictly speaking, though royal (ducal) officials had triple wergelds.

The wergelds of the Scandinavian laws[2] were always reckoned according to the national weight-system. The units were the ore (O. Norse *eyrir*), roughly equivalent to our ounce, and the mark, the latter containing eight ores. In early times however the weight of the ore was not constant. Originally it seems to have been the silver equivalent of the Roman gold solidus (also called *aureus*, whence the name *eyrir*); but at quite an early date the Roman standard must have been displaced by that of the Frankish solidus, which was slightly lower[3]. The wergeld of the freeman was about 15 (silver) marks or 120 ores in Denmark, Iceland, and at least part of Norway. That of the freedman was 60 ores in Denmark and about 40 ores in Iceland, while in Norway there were wergelds of 40, 60, and 80 ores for different classes of freedmen. In Norway the höldr or hereditary landowner had a wergeld of about 240 ores, a sum which is also found as the amount of a wergeld in Iceland. Royal officials in Norway had higher wergelds of 480 and 960 ores, while in Iceland we find wergelds of 720 ores for distinguished persons. So far as we can judge from the evidence at our disposal, viz. the native traditions and the custom of the Danelagh in England, it seems to have been usual in early times to reckon wergelds in gold. Now the gold weight of the freeman's wergeld

[1] It is sometimes held that the Alamannic wergelds of 240 and 200 sol. belonged to different classes of nobility. No evidence however seems to be obtainable on this question.

[2] Cf. my *Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions*, p. 392 ff., where this subject is discussed at greater length.

[3] The standards of the ore known to us from the eleventh century and earlier are (i) about 375—378 gr., (ii) about 430—440 gr., (iii) about 490—500 gr. These seem to represent the weight of the Frankish solidus multiplied by 6, 7, and 8 respectively according to the varying ratio in the relative value of silver and gold.

was very nearly the same as that of the West Saxon *sixhynde* class, viz. 100 mancusas (62—63 gr. × 120 as against 70 gr. × 100). The latter was also identical with that of the Kentish ceorl if we are right in believing that the Kentish shilling was originally the Roman gold solidus, a coin which was of the same standard as the mancus. The price of live-stock in the North is unfortunately not known to us from early times; but we need hardly doubt that the equation of the gold solidus or ounce of silver with the ox or cow, which we find both in England and Ireland, prevailed at one time in the North[1]. I suspect that the wergeld of 120 ores originally meant 120 cows or 100 oxen; but it would hardly be possible to prove this. At all events it is clear that the freeman's wergeld was of the Kentish or Continental type and very much greater than that of the West Saxon or Mercian ceorl. Incidentally we may note the existence of a class of hereditary landowners and of a class or classes of freedmen. The treatment of the latter in regard to wergelds shows, at least in Norway, close affinity to the Kentish laws.

As the evidence obtained from a comparison of the social systems is of great importance for determining the affinities of the English people, it will be convenient here to recapitulate the various points of resemblance noted above. The Kentish system agrees with all the Continental and Scandinavian systems which we have examined in possessing a class of persons, liti or freedmen, who were valued above the slave[2] but below the ordinary freeman. A hereditary nobility appears in both the English systems and also among the Frisians, Old Saxons and Bavarians and in the Lex Angliorum et Werinorum. The case of the Bavarians however ought really to be excluded, as the nobility of this nation was limited to six families. In Wessex and Mercia we find a distinction between the landowning and the landless nobility, to which the distinction between the freeman and the höldr in Norway may be somewhat parallel. Lastly, in regard to the amount of the freeman's wergeld, the

[1] It is worth noting that the price of a slave was about the same in Iceland as in England (twelve ores or one pound).

[2] The value of the slave is 36 sol. in the Lex Ribuaria, 30 sol. in the Lex Angl. et Werin., 20 sol. in the Lex Baiuwariorum.

custom of Wessex, Mercia and Northumbria stands quite isolated, while the Kentish system agrees with those both of the Continent and the North.

This short survey of the evidence is sufficient to show that the characteristics which distinguish the Kentish social system from that of the other kingdoms have not arisen out of any modifications of the latter. Indeed it is the other system which presents striking peculiarities in more than one respect. Here we need notice only the absence of the freedman or litus-class and the fact that the freeman has what is practically a freedman's wergeld. For an explanation of these peculiarities we have no other course than argument from analogy. The Welsh population within the English kingdoms had, as we have seen (p. 77), very small wergelds. There can scarcely be any doubt that this was a result of conquest; for the wergelds recognised in the Welsh laws themselves are much higher[1]. A somewhat parallel phenomenon may be observed in the English Danelagh, where the Danish wergelds, both of the freeman and the höldr, seem to have been doubled as a result of the Danish conquest of Northumbria. The objection to this hypothesis is that we have no evidence either from history or tradition for any conquest which would be capable of producing such results. Indeed it may be said with certainty that no such conquest can have taken place after the invasion of Britain. It may, however, have taken place before the invasion, and as a matter of fact the remembrance of some such event seems to have been preserved in a tradition recorded by Saxo (p. 51), to which we shall have to return later.

The evidence of the social systems confirms in a striking manner Bede's statement that the inhabitants of Kent were of a different nationality from those of the surrounding kingdoms. We have seen that the historical evidence gives no confirmation of this statement, while the linguistic evidence is worthless. In the light of the facts pointed out above, however, there can be no doubt as to its accuracy. We have dealt of course in the above discussion only with the question of

[1] Cf. Seebohm, *Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law*, p. 55.

monetary compensations. One would naturally expect from the greater value of the Kentish freeman that his economic position was better than that of persons of the corresponding class in the other kingdoms, and also that he enjoyed a greater degree of independence. There seem to be indications that such actually was the case, but the amount of evidence at our disposal for the discussion of these questions is extremely small. With the peculiarities of Kentish custom observable in later times, especially in regard to tenure of land[1], I am not qualified to deal. The characteristics pointed out above, however, are in themselves sufficient confirmation of Bede's statement that the Kentish people were of a distinct nationality. At the same time we are bound to conclude from the historical evidence that this fact was forgotten very early. Indeed it seems probable that the source from which Bede derived his information was the same early document from which he obtained the story of Hengest and Horsa.

On the other hand, the evidence of the social systems has totally failed to substantiate the distinction drawn by Bede between the Saxons and the Angles. We have seen that though Bede himself appears to have been more careful in observing this distinction than the other, it was regarded just as little by his contemporaries. Moreover, there is the inexplicable fact that West Saxon writers, including King Alfred himself, called their language *Englisc* and regarded their nation as part of the *Angelcyn*. The linguistic evidence, as we have seen, again points to no original differences. Now comes the overwhelming fact that a social system, of a type unique among Teutonic nations and differing essentially even from that of Kent, is common to the Saxon kingdom of Wessex and the Anglian kingdoms of Mercia and Northumbria. Until further evidence is forthcoming therefore, whether from the archaeological side or elsewhere, I think we are bound to conclude that the distinction drawn by Bede in this case had no solid foundation, in other words, that it was the result of a theory. The materials for forming such a theory were ready to hand in the existence of the names Wessex, Essex and Sussex on the one side, and East Anglia and Middle Anglia

[1] In later times Kent is said to have been free from villainage.

on the other. Hence it required little ingenuity to make two peoples of the Angles and Saxons. In regard to Bede's use of such expressions as *Saxonum lingua* we have to remember that he appears to have travelled very little. It is quite possible therefore that he was not aware of the fact that the West Saxons called their language *Englisc*.

The names Essex, Sussex, Wessex, East Anglia, etc. of course require some explanation. It is not necessary to suppose that they are of very great antiquity. Bede himself says that the West Saxons were formerly called *Geuissae*. When the kingdom of East Anglia was spoken of in early times the word used may have been *Wuffingas*, just as we find *Merewioinga* used for *Francna* in Beowulf and *Scaldingi* (i.e. *Skiöldungar*) for *Dani* in the Historia de S. Cuthberto. I do not mean to suggest, however, that the term 'Saxon' was wholly of Latin or Celtic origin. Let us take the only clue to a difference of nationality which has presented itself in the course of our discussion. We have seen that the dynasty of Essex appears to have been of a different stock from the other dynasties, and one which we may probably regard as genuinely Saxon. Is it not possible that the people may have derived their name from the dynasty? Against this explanation it may of course be urged that the West Saxon dynasty was probably not Saxon. But we have seen that the account given in the Chronicle of the West Saxon invasion is at the best a very doubtful story, and that probability rather favours the idea that Wessex was an offshoot from Essex or Sussex. Unfortunately the genealogy of the South Saxon dynasty is unknown. If they were a Saxon family the difficulty in the way of this explanation largely disappears. According to Bede Aelle's supremacy extended over all the English kingdoms south of the Humber, but in the districts which later were called Essex, Sussex and Wessex—if any part of the latter was already in the hands of the invaders—he may very well have been the sole ruler. But this explanation does not necessarily depend on the assumption that the South Saxon dynasty was really Saxon. Aelle is said to have been the only king who held supremacy over the other kingdoms until the

time of Ceawlin, *i.e.* the latter half of the sixth century. Therefore, whether we accept the statements of the Chronicle as to the date of Aelle's reign or not, it is clear that there must have been a considerable interval or intervals during which the invaders were not united under one head. But there is no need to suppose that the kingdoms were all independent during these intervals. From the geographical position of the Saxon kingdoms it is inherently probable that they would as a rule be more or less united, and as Essex was in early times no doubt the most populous of these kingdoms, it is likely enough that its kings were usually supreme over the others.

I suspect then that the use of the term Saxon in reference to the southern kingdoms is to be attributed to the political supremacy of a family or families which were of specifically Saxon origin. We must not assume that these families were necessarily alien to the people whom they governed, for it is quite possible that the apparent homogeneity of the nation, even in the earliest historical times, had arisen from the coalition of originally distinct elements. The only conclusion which the evidence seems to me to force upon us is that the people of the 'Saxon' kingdoms as a whole were not of a distinct nationality from those of the 'Anglian' kingdoms. Hence, if we are right in supposing that the kingdom of Wessex arose out of a secession from Sussex or Essex, presumably under the leadership of persons who had been in the service of the South Saxon or East Saxon kings, we need no longer regard it as unintelligible that these persons should claim to be of the same stock as the royal family of Bernicia.

To sum up briefly, the conclusion to which we have been brought is that the invaders of Britain belonged not to three but to two distinct nationalities, which we may call Jutish and Anglo-Saxon. The former occupied Kent and southern Hampshire, the latter the rest of the conquered territory. The people of Kent soon adopted the name *Cantware* in place of their own national name, and the fact that they were of a different nationality from the rest of the invaders had apparently ceased to be a matter of general knowledge even before the eighth

century. The Jutes of southern Hampshire were eventually swallowed up in Wessex. The Anglo-Saxons may not originally have been a homogeneous people—that is a question which we shall have to discuss in the following chapters—but there is no evidence that any national difference survived at the time when they invaded Britain. By alien peoples they were all called Saxons, but the names which they applied to themselves and their language were *Angelcyn* and *Englisc*.

CHAPTER V.

THE SAXONS, ANGLES AND JUTES ON THE CONTINENT.

In the last chapter we saw that according to Bede the invaders of Britain came from three of the bravest nations of Germany, the Saxons, Angli and Iutae. When subjected to examination the distinction drawn by Bede between the two former names has turned out to be elusive. Yet we have to remember that the invaders were called Saxons by the natives, and even by themselves occasionally when writing in Latin, that three of their kingdoms bore this name, and that at least one dynasty seems really to have been of Saxon origin. It is clearly necessary therefore that in considering the early history of our nation we should take account of the people called Saxons or Old Saxons on the Continent, from whom Bede makes the Saxons of Britain to be sprung. Indeed it will be convenient to begin our discussion with a short account of this nation, for in their case a considerable amount of historical evidence is available; whereas we have hardly any references to a people called Angli on the Continent, and the locality of their original home is therefore to some extent open to doubt.

The Old Saxons.

The Old Saxons are frequently mentioned by Bede and other writers of the same period. In his time their territories stretched as far as the Rhine (H. E. v. 10), presumably between the Yssel and the Lippe, while further to the south they had recently conquered the Boruhtwarii (ib. v. 11), a tribe which in all probability inhabited the district called in later times Borahtra, between the Lippe

and the Ruhr[1]. On the south-east they stretched as far as the Harz and the river Bode. The lands beyond the Harz, between the Bode, the Unstrut and the Saale had according to Saxon tradition[2] been conquered by them from the Thuringi in the time of the Frankish king Theodric; but the Saxons who settled there are said to have followed the Langobardi into Italy, and the lands which they had held were subsequently occupied by Suabi (Widukind, I. 14). Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Francorum*, III. 7) in his account of the overthrow of the Thuringi (A.D. 531) gives no hint that the Saxons took part in the campaign; but in another passage (V. 15[3]) he states that at the time when Alboin (king of the Langobardi) invaded Italy (A.D. 568) the Frankish kings Lothair and Sigibert planted the Suabi and other tribes in territories which the Saxons who accompanied Alboin had vacated. The whole basin of the Elbe as far as the neighbourhood of Lüneburg and Bergedorf was probably inhabited by Slavonic tribes in the eighth century[4]. There can be little doubt also that eastern Holstein had been occupied considerably before this by the Obotriti (Afdrede) and Wagri, tribes which belonged to the same race. The people of western Holstein, however, are described, at all events in the ninth century, as Saxons (*Saxones Nordalbingi*), though it is not clear that they had any political union with the Saxons between the Rhine and the Elbe.

It is a very remarkable fact that in Bede's time, and indeed for more than two centuries previously, we never hear of the Saxons as a seafaring people. Indeed the amount of coast-line in their possession cannot have been extensive, for in Charlemagne's time the Frisians reached as far as the mouth of the Weser, if not beyond. Yet in the fourth and fifth centuries we constantly hear of the Saxons as pirates who infested the western seas, and about the beginning of the fifth century the coasts of Gaul and Britain exposed to their ravages were

[1] Cf. Zeuss, *Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*, p. 353 and note.

[2] Widukind, *Res Gestae Saxonicae*, I. 9 ff.; Annales Quedlinburgenses (Mon. Germ., Script. III.), p. 32; Translatio S. Alexandri, cap. 1.

[3] Cf. also IV. 42; Paulus Diaconus, *Hist. Lang.*, II. 6.

[4] For references cf. Zeuss, *op. cit.*, pp. 654, 660 f.

called Litora Saxonica[1]. Moreover the Saxons themselves appear to have had a tradition that they had come from over the sea. According to a lost work of Einhard, which is quoted at length by Adam of Bremen (I. 4 ff.) and the Translatio S. Alexandri, cap. 1, they were sprung from the Angli who inhabit Britain and had landed at a place called Haduloha (Hadeln, the district round Cuxhaven) at the time when Theodric, king of the Franks, was at war with Irminfrith, king of the Thuringi (i.e. in the year 531). According to Widukind, I. 1, some held that the Saxons were descended from the Greeks, and others that they were sprung from the Danes and Northmen, but it was known for certain that they had come in ships to the country where they now dwelt, and had landed at a place called Hadolaun. In the following chapters Widukind relates that some of the Saxons went over to Britain at the invitation of the natives, and that those who remained in Germany subsequently took part in the war between Theodric and the Thuringi; but his narrative does not suggest that the latter event took place shortly after the landing of the Saxons. Now, whatever may be the truth of the story about the arrival of the Saxons at Hadeln, it is clear that they were settled in

[1] Some scholars interpret the expression to mean 'the coasts occupied by Saxons.' In the case of the British coasts we have no evidence for Saxon settlements; but even if there were such the presumption is that the settlers were assimilated before the Romans left this country (cf. Stevenson, *Eng. Hist. Rev.* XIV. 46). The view that the Saxons of later times were descended from these settlers is contrary to the evidence of all our early authorities, whether English or Welsh, and has now, I think, very few advocates. In any case the question can have no bearing on the subject discussed in the last chapter, for the Litus Saxonicum included East Anglia and Kent as well as the Saxon kingdoms. Another view, which has a larger number of supporters, is that the Saxon invaders, at all events those of Sussex and Wessex, came from the Litus Saxonicum of the Continent (cf. Hoops, *Waldbäume und Kulturpflanzen*, p. 580 ff.). The evidence that the Saxons had settled on the coast of Gaul before the invasion of Britain is said to be derived from Gregory, *Hist. Fr.*, II. 18 f., where a settlement on the Loire is mentioned, which is referred by Meitzen (*Siedelung und Agrarwesen*, I. p. 508) to about 420, and by Hoops (*op. cit.*, p. 580) to the beginning of the fifth century. These dates appear to be based on a reading which I have not been able to find. But assuming the fact to be correct I should be willing to accept this view in the case of Sussex, if it could be shown that the South Saxons differed materially in any way from the West Saxons. So far as the latter are concerned, I think the evidence given above is conclusive against the supposition that they were of different origin from the Mercians and Northumbrians.

western Germany long before the Thuringian war. Several contemporary writers record their conflicts with the Franks and Romans on the lower Rhine during the latter part of the fourth century, and the earliest references to their raids in the west go back to the year 286[1]. On the other hand, their presence here is never mentioned in writings of the first two centuries. Indeed, Ptolemy, the only early writer who gives their name, places them "on the neck of the Cimbric peninsula." The tradition therefore may have a solid foundation in fact.

The Frisians.

In connection with the Old Saxons it will be well to take account of their western neighbours the Frisians, who, as we have seen (p. 55), are said by Procopius to have been one of the nations which inhabited Britain in his time. They must have been a seafaring people in the seventh and eighth centuries, for we find one of their kings, Radbod (Rathbedus), ruling from Heligoland to the Rhine, if not further[2]. We hear of Frisian merchants in England in connection with the slave-trade, and it is probable that they were the chief channel of communication between the north and west of Europe at this time[3]. Even as late as the end of the ninth century we find King Alfred employing Frisian sailors in his fleet. In the Lex Frisonum, a compilation dating apparently from the ninth century, the nation is divided into three groups, a western extending from the Sincfal (the present boundary between West Flanders and Zeeland) to the Fli (Zuyder Zee), a central from the Fli to the Laubachi (Lauwer Zee), and an eastern from the Laubachi to the Weser. The western district was conquered by the Franks under Pippin of Heristal in 689, and the central district by Charles Martel in 734, while

[1] Eutropius, IX. 21; Orosius, VII. 25.

[2] Cf. Alcuin, *Vita Willibrordi*, cap. 10; Contin. Fredegarii, § 102 ff.

[3] On the importance of the Frisian port Wyk te Duerstede during the eighth and ninth centuries see Soetbeer, *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte*, IV. 300 ff. It is worth noting that there is a good deal of archaeological evidence for communication between the west of Norway and the southern coasts of the North Sea, apparently during the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries; cf. Undset, *Aarboger f. nord. Oldkyndighed*, 1880, p. 171 ff. (see also p. 19, above). Quite possibly there may be some connection between the overthrow of the Frisian kingdom and the establishment of Scandinavian supremacy in the North Sea which followed shortly after.

the easternmost remained independent until the time of Charlemagne.

In later times—from the twelfth century onwards—we also find Frisians settled on the west coast of Slesvig. It is generally supposed that this district was colonised by them between the ninth and eleventh centuries, but we have not sufficient data for deciding the point. It is hardly likely that the colonisation was effected during the ninth century, at a time when the Danes commanded the coasts of the North Sea[1], while if it had taken place later it is curious that Saxo should have been ignorant of the story[2]. Further, in the Translatio S. Alexandri, cap. 4, we find a letter from the emperor Lothair to Pope Leo IV asking for relics of the saints. The emperor states that "within the territories of our kingdom there is a mixed people of Frisians and Saxons, situated on the borders of the Northmanni and Obotriti." The relics of St Alexander, which were sent in 855 in answer to the emperor's request, are said to have been deposited eventually at Wildeshausen, south-west of Bremen. But the passage quoted above seems to point to Holstein; and in later times the population of western Holstein apparently did contain a Frisian element. Again, in Saxo, p. 249, we hear of the coasts of Jutland being ravaged by a Frisian chief named Ubbo during the reign of Harald Hildetand, i.e. in the latter part of the eighth century. This man was subsequently overthrown by Harald and entered his service. His presence at the battle of Bravik is mentioned in the Skiöldunga Saga[3], cap. 8 f., as well as by Saxo. This evidence, if it is to be trusted, would seem to indicate that

[1] The suggestion quoted by Bremer (Paul's *Grundriss*, III.[2] 849) that these Frisians were sprung from the *socii* of Rorih who in 857 obtained a portion of the Danish kingdom *inter mare et Egidoram* (Ann. Fuld.), seems to me unlikely; for, setting aside the doubtful meaning of this expression, the *socii* in question were probably exiled Danes. They can hardly have been a different body from the *Danigenarum non modica manus*, whom Rorih was leading on piratical expeditions a few years earlier (ib. 850). We may also refer to the *magna Danorum multitudo* baptized with Harald, Rorih's brother, in 826.

[2] Cf. p. 465: *hos a Frisonum gente conditos nominis et lingue societas testimonio est, quibus nouas querentibus sedes ea forte tellus obuenit; quam palustrem primum ac humidam longo durauere cultu.*

[3] Sögubrot af fornkonungum.

the northward migration of the Frisians took place not later than the eighth century. Hence it is quite possible that it was a result of the Frankish conquests in Friesland[1]. We may note that these North Frisians were always more or less subject to the Danes and not connected in any way with the Empire. Even as early as the end of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century we hear of Danes in the neighbourhood of Heligoland, though the island itself is represented as a Frisian possession[2].

It is generally supposed that the Frisians were less affected by the movements of the migration period than any other Teutonic nation; but this view is open to question. The ancient Roman writers of the first two centuries represent them as occupying the coast between the Rhine and the Ems, i.e. not more than half the territory which we find them possessing in later times, while the coast beyond the Ems was inhabited by the Chauci. If the eastward extension of Frisian territory is to be attributed to a migration, we shall have to suppose that this movement took place after the Saxons ceased to be a maritime people, though even then such an easterly movement is both exceptional and remarkable. There is no doubt that the Frisians spread southwards into the maritime territories of the Roman Empire. Even in the lands about the mouth of the Scheldt their presence is attested by other authorities[3] besides the Lex Frisonum; and many of the place-names show characteristics of the Frisian language.

In view of the facts noted above it is not a little remarkable that we hardly ever[4] find the Frisians mentioned among the nations who attacked the Roman Empire by sea and land in the fourth and fifth centuries. The nations which we do find invading the districts about the Lower Rhine are the Franks, the Saxons, the Heruli, and the 'Chaibones'—the last-named only in the Panegyric of Mamertinus. Indeed the Frisians are seldom mentioned by Latin writers from the second century

[1] The evidence of the North Frisian language is said to point to colonisation from the districts about the mouth of the Ems; cf. Siebs in Paul's *Grundriss* I.², p. 1166.

[2] Alcuin, *Vita Willebrordi*, cap. 9 f. [3] Cf. Zeuss, *op. cit.*, p. 398.

[4] The only case known to me is the passage of Eumenius cited below.

until the seventh. Their name occurs probably in the Tabula Peutingeriana and in the Excerpta of Julius Honorius[1], as well as in the Panegyric of Eumenius upon Constantius, cap. 9, where they are represented as brought into subjection to the Romans. At a much later period Procopius, *Goth.* IV. 20, places them in Britain. Towards the end of the sixth century we find them mentioned by Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* I. I. 75, together with the Sueui, and after this we hear of them frequently. It is somewhat curious that with the exception of Venantius none of these writers speak of the Saxons, and consequently one cannot altogether resist the suspicion that the two nations may have been to some extent confused. At all events the fact that the Saxons are frequently, but the Frisians never, represented as a seafaring people in the fourth and fifth centuries, while the reverse is the case in the seventh century, seems to call for some explanation.

In regard to language the two nations differed greatly. The dialects of the districts inhabited by the Saxons are known to us from the ninth century onwards, and are merely forms of German, closely related to Dutch and not differing greatly even from High German except in the absence of the consonantal changes known as 'sound-shifting.' The Frisian dialects on the other hand are of a very different character. At the present time indeed they vary greatly among themselves; but it is clear from the earliest extant texts, none of which (except a few glosses) date from before the thirteenth century, that these variations arose in fairly late times. In regard to the language as a whole, however, we have already seen (pp. 62 f.) that it is closely related to English. Indeed it is probable that in the ninth century the differences between the two languages were comparatively slight—not very much greater than those observable between the various English dialects themselves.

On the extreme south-eastern border of the Saxon territories we find traces of another language which closely resembled Frisian and English. Its remains are very scanty, consisting entirely of glosses and proper names. The MS. in which the

[1] Cf. also Vegetius Renatus, *De arte ueterinaria*, IV. 6 (if *Frisiscos* may be read for *Frigiscos*).

glosses are contained[1] comes from Merseburg, and it has been observed that the forms of proper names which occur in the autograph MS. of the Chronicle of Thietmar of Merseburg and in the 'Merseburger Totenbuch' exhibit the same characteristics. There can be little doubt therefore that the dialect is to be located in this district. But the inhabitants of this district must have been descended from the "Suabi and other tribes" who settled about 560—570 between the Unstrut and the Saale (cf. p. 91), for the whole country beyond the Saale was occupied by Slavonic tribes in the seventh and eighth centuries. These Suabi—or North Suabi as they are sometimes called, in order to distinguish them from the Alamannic Suabi—seem to have long retained traces of a distinctive nationality. It is true that they are called Saxons (*Saxones qui Nordosquaui uocantur*) in the Ann. Mettens. 748. According to Widukind, I. 14, however, they retained even in his time, i.e. the middle of the tenth century, different laws from the Saxons[2]. Their name survived in that of the canton Sueuon, south of the Bode. Whence these Suabi came we are unfortunately not told. But there is every probability that they were identical with the people called *Norsaui*, whose subjugation is recorded in a letter of Theodberht (534—548) to Justinian[3]. As this passage is of great importance for ethnographical purposes it will be convenient here to give it in full: *id uero quod dignamini esse solliciti in quibus prouinciis habitemus aut quae gentes nostrae sint Deo adiutore ditioni subiectae, Dei nostri misericordia feliciter subactis Thuringis et eorum prouinciis acquisitis, extinctis ipsorum tunc temporis regibus, Norsauorum gentis nobis placata maiestas colla subdidit, Deoque propitio Wisigotis, qui incolebant Franciae septentrionalem plagam Pannoniam*[4] *cum Saxonibus Euciis, qui se nobis uoluntate propria tradiderunt, per Danubium et limitem Pannoniae usque in Oceani*

[1] Published in Heyne's *Kleinere altniederdeutsche Denkmäler*, p. 95 ff.; cf. Bremer in Paul's *Grundriss der germ. Philologie*, III.[2] p. 863 f., where, however, the dialect is regarded as Saxon.

[2] *Suaui uero Transbadani...aliis legibus quam Saxones utuntur.*

[3] Bouquet, *Rerum Gallicarum Scriptores*, IV. 59.

[4] This term seems to be applied by Latin writers of the sixth century to the regions east of the lower Rhine; cf. Greg. Tur. II. 9.

litoribus, custodiente Deo, dominatio nostra porrigitur. It is very unfortunate that the phraseology is so obscure. Thus it is impossible to decide with certainty whether *Euciis*[1] is a description of *Saxonibns* or whether two distinct nations are meant. Yet we may, I think, at least infer from this passage that the North Suabi had been under Frankish supremacy for some twenty or thirty years before they settled beyond the Bode, though we are not told where they lived either at this time or previously.

It is a remarkable fact that though the Saxons according to their own traditions had come from over the sea, i.e. presumably from the north, their language itself was, even in the earliest literary times, of a distinctly German type and closely related to the Frankish dialects on the south and south-west, whereas both on the east and west flanks of the Saxons we find languages the affinities of which are as clearly with English. Recent writers[2] however have pointed out that the earliest literary remains of Old Saxon preserve a number of words, including proper names, which do not conform to the usual sound-laws of the language, but agree with English and Frisian. These are especially prominent in Runic abcdaria and other texts, the origin of which cannot be located; they may therefore in some cases be of North Swabian or Frisian origin. But there still remain an appreciable number of such forms in the Old Saxon poem *Heliand* and also in charters and monastic documents which can be definitely located. The fact that they are Old Saxon may therefore be regarded as certain. Moreover, it has been shown that these forms are not peculiar to one or two districts but spread over the whole area occupied by the Old Saxons. But if these differences of dialect are not of local origin it would seem that they must be due to the presence of different national elements in the population. This conclusion, it will be seen, agrees fully with the Saxon traditions. If the language of the

[1] Apparently all writers who have dealt with this passage take this to be a proper name; but I confess that I am not able to translate the sentence. It seems to me that a participle in the abl. pl. is required.

[2] Cf. Bremer in Paul's *Grundriss*, III[2]. pp. 861 ff., where the subject is treated at length.

invaders differed from that of the population whom they conquered, the two languages would naturally continue for a time side by side, though in the end that of the numerically stronger element might be expected to prevail. We may thus infer that the language of the conquered people, who presumably still continued to form the majority of the population[1], was of a type similar to that of the Franks.

This is likely enough; indeed there is fairly clear evidence that some of the territories belonging to the Old Saxons, e.g. Salland and Hamaland, had previously been occupied by Frankish tribes (the Salii[2] and Chamaui). But have we any justification for believing that a language of Anglo-Frisian type was spoken beyond the sea to the north? The answer to this question depends of course to a large extent on where we place the early home of the Angli. To this we shall have to return presently. But we have seen that the Frisians reached at least to the mouth of the Weser and Heligoland. In later times we find them also occupying the west coast of Slesvig, though here their language is supposed to be due to a migration. There is a curious fact however to be taken into account in this connection[3]. Off the west coast of Slesvig there are three islands, Sylt, Amrum and Föhr, the inhabitants of which speak a form of language closely resembling Frisian, and which is indeed generally classed as a branch of the North Frisian dialect. Yet the inhabitants do not, like those of the mainland, call themselves Frisians, and there is no historical evidence that these islands have ever been connected in any way with Friesland. Moreover, as we shall see later, Ptolemy speaks of three islands of the Saxons in the North Sea, and the indications which he gives of their position correspond fairly well to the islands which we are discussing. There is no inherent improbability therefore in the view that the dialect spoken in these islands is descended from the language

[1] Cf. Trans. S. Alex., cap. 1: *qui eam (sc. terram) sorte diuidentes, cum multi ex eis in bello ccidissent et pro raritate eorum tota ab eis occupari non potuit, partem illius et eam quam maxime quae respicit orientem colonis tradebant singuli pro sorte sua sub tributo exercendam.*

[2] Cf. Zosimus, III. 6.

[3] Cf. Möller, *Das altenglische Volksepos*, p. 85.

of the ancient Saxons—a view which is held by many, perhaps the majority, of the writers who have discussed this question[1].

If we are right in believing the exceptional dialectic characteristics which we find in Old Saxon to be traces of a more northern language which was dying out, or had actually died out, we can hardly avoid concluding that the North Swabian language, which was of a distinctly Anglo-Frisian type, had come from a considerable distance. In historical times we find this people surrounded by Saxons, Franks (Thuringians), and Slavs; but we know that their settlement in the basin of the Saale took place after the middle of the sixth century, though we do not know where they lived before. Quite possibly, like the Saxons, they had come from the north. A certain confirmation of this idea is perhaps to be found in the story of the origin of the Sweui (Suabi) given by an anonymous text which dates apparently from the twelfth century[2]. According to this story the Sweui had come from a land called Sweuia beside the northern sea and had arrived in ships at a port of the Danes called Sleswic. From thence they journeyed to the Elbe, where they arrived at the time when Theodric was at war with Irminfrith. Beyond this however the Sweui are represented as playing the same part which elsewhere is assigned to the Saxons (cf. p. 91 f.). Consequently the story cannot be regarded as a pure Swabian tradition.

There are one or two indications which tend to show that the Suabi came from quite a different quarter. In later times we occasionally hear of Sueui among the Frisians about the mouth of the Scheldt; thus, according to the Annales Vedastini the Northmen in 880 erected a fort at Courtrai from which they

[1] Siebs on the other hand (Paul's *Grundriss*, 1^2. p. 1166) holds that the islands were colonised from the district between the Ems and the Weser. He states that the dialect has affinities with East Frisian (which might of course be explained otherwise) and suggests that the name of the island Amrum (formerly *Ambrum*) points to colonization from Ammerland (formerly *Ambria, pagus Ammeri*). The objection to this view is that Ammerland was a Saxon (not Frisian) district. That there is a connection between the two names appears likely enough; but the evidence seems to me to point to a movement in the opposite direction.

[2] Printed in the Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum, XVII. 57 ff.

harried 'the Menapii and the Sueui.' In the Vita S. Eligii, II. 3[1], we find mention of *Flandrenses atque Andouerpenses, Frisiones et Sueui et barbari quique circa maris littora degentes.* This is of course a late work, but it is supposed to have used much earlier materials. The time to which it refers is about 640–650. For the juxtaposition of the last two names we may compare a passage of Venantius Fortunatus (*Carm.* I. 1. 75 f.) where it is stated that the Fresones and Sueui had been reduced to obedience by king Chilperic (about 580). What especially favours the supposition that the North Suabi may have come from this district is the fact that one of the cantons between the Unstrut and the Bode was called Frisonofeld, which seems to indicate the presence of Frisians among the settlers. The objection is of course the distance between the Saale and the Scheldt. In later times however Charlemagne transplanted large numbers of the Saxons almost if not quite as far.

Either of the two hypotheses suggested above will satisfactorily account for the presence of an Anglo-Frisian language in the neighbourhood of the Saale. The fact that the North Suabi preserved their language so much better than the Saxons might to some extent be due to their having settled in a more compact mass. Probably however the true reason is that their settlement took place at a very much later time, when the characteristic features of the Anglo-Frisian languages were more fully developed.

In conclusion, it may be worth while to call attention to the great extent of sea-board along which the Anglo-Frisian languages appear to have been spoken in early times, especially if we are right in believing the dialect of the "North Frisian" islands to be indigenous. The two groups of languages, Anglo-Frisian and German, were apparently not separated from one another by any natural (geographical) boundaries; the one group seems to belong to the coasts, the other to the interior. We have no definite evidence that dialects belonging to the German group touched the coast anywhere to the north-east of the Sincfal, except on the Zuyder Zee, while Anglo-Frisian dialects appear

[1] Bouquet, *Rerum Gall. Script.*, III. 557.

not to have been able to maintain themselves for any length of time in the interior, except in the neighbourhood of Merseburg. Hence we are probably justified in concluding that there was much more communication between the different coast districts and between the different inland districts than there was between the coasts and the interior. This observation may possibly give us a clue to the explanation of two curious facts which we noticed earlier in the chapter, the eastward expansion of the Frisians and the disappearance of the Saxons as a seagoing people. Is it not conceivable that these phenomena are really due to political changes, and that the East Frisians were in large measure the descendants of those Saxons who had remained in the coast districts?

The social organisation of the Old Saxons and Frisians has been treated incidentally in the last chapter. We have seen that both nations possessed three social orders, viz. nobles, freemen and liti, in addition to slaves. In this respect, as also in the amount of the freeman's wergeld, their affinities lay with the Kentish system rather than with those of Wessex and Mercia. The social lines of division among the Old Saxons were in early times very sharp, amounting indeed practically to a system of caste, for intermarriage between the different classes was forbidden under penalty of death[1]. Whether this was the case among the Frisians also we do not know. In regard to government there was an important difference between the two nations. The Saxons, at all events from the time of Bede to their final subjugation by the Franks, had no kings, but were governed by a number of 'satrapae,' from whom a leader was selected by lot in time of war (H.E. v. 10). According to Hucbald[2] there was also a central authority, consisting of an elected body of twelve men who met annually at a place called Marklo on the Weser. The Frisians on the other hand were governed in the seventh century by kings, two of whom (Aldgisl and Rathbed) are mentioned by Bede. Nor is there any reason for believing that royalty was a recent institution, for we are told in Widsith, l. 27, that Finn,

[1] Translatio S. Alexandri, cap. 1.

[2] Vita S. Lebuini (Pertz, *Mon. Germ. Script.* II. 361 f.).

who lived apparently in the fifth century (cf. p. 52), ruled the Frisian people.

Of the religion of the Frisians little unfortunately is known. The Old Saxons, if we are right in regarding the "Renunciation Formula" as a Saxon document (cf. p. 60), apparently worshipped the same gods as the Angli and Saxons of Britain. The most characteristic feature of their religion however was the cult of the Irminsul, to which we shall have to return later.

The Jutes and the Angles.

In discussing the origin of the Jutes and Angles we have to face a somewhat different set of problems from those treated above. In the first place, there is little or no evidence that the Angli continued to survive on the Continent as a distinct nation after the invasion of Britain. Again, though there certainly was a people called Iuti, their identity with the Iuti (Iutae) of Britain is denied by many writers. The origin of both nations is therefore to a considerable extent a matter of dispute.

It will be convenient to begin with the traditional evidence as given by Bede. He states that the people of Kent and the Isle of Wight were sprung from the Iutae, but he does not specify the position of the land whence these Iutae came. The Angli, he says, came from a region called Angulus which lies between the Saxons and the Iutae. The two problems therefore, so far as Bede's evidence goes, are interdependent and can hardly be treated separately. Moreover, it is worth remembering in this connection that, according to the Historia Brittonum, which seems to have used the same traditions as Bede (cf. p. 41 f.), Hengist and Hors came from an island called Oghgul, which can hardly be anything else than Bede's Angulus.

There is no possible doubt as to the interpretation which later English writers put upon Bede's words. Aethelweard, who was earl of the western counties (Devon, Somerset and Dorset) at the end of the tenth century, amplifies Bede's statement as follows (*ad ann.* 449): "The East Angles, the Middle Angles, the Mercians also, and the whole nation of the Northumbrians, came from the province Anglia. Now the ancient Anglia is situated between the Saxons and the Gioti,

having a chief town which is called Slesuuic in the Saxon language, but Haithaby by the Danes[1]." It is clear from the mention of Slesvig that the Anglia Vetus of which Aethelweard speaks must be the district now called Angel, viz. the peninsula between the Sle and the Flensborg Fiord, though since Slesvig is only on the very edge of this district it is possible that the name may have been applied to a larger area in the tenth century. Moreover, there can be little doubt that Aethelweard identified Bede's Iutae with the inhabitants of Jutland, for the form which he uses (*Gioti*) seems to be an attempt to represent the Scandinavian form *Iótar*. We may further compare a passage in Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum*, II. 116. Speaking of Sceaf, a mythical ancestor of King Aethelwulf, he says: "When he grew up he reigned in the town which then was called Slaswic but now Haithebi. Now that district is called Old Anglia, and is situated between the Saxons and the Gothi; from it the Angli came to Britain."

These quotations are conclusive as to the interpretation put upon Bede's words by later writers. More important for us, however, are some passages which King Alfred inserted in his translation of Orosius. In his account of the geography of northern Europe (I. 1. 12), which is entirely original, we find the following passage: "To the west of the Old Saxons is the mouth of the river Elbe and Friesland, and to the north-west of them is the land which is called Angel (*Ongel*) and Sillende[2] and a portion of the Danes, and to the north of them are the Afdrede" (i.e. the Obotriti). Throughout this insertion the quarters of the heaven are given somewhat incorrectly; but it is clear enough that he lays Angel in the direction of Slesvig. Again, in his account of the voyages of Ohthere (I. 1. 19) the following passage occurs: "He (Ohthere) said that he had

[1] On the situation of Haithaby (Hedeby) see S. Müller, *Nordische Altertumskunde* (Germ. transl.), II. p. 232 ff., where good reasons are given for believing that it lay to the south of the Sle. If the Slesvig of early times occupied the site of the present town the two places cannot have been identical. But is the evidence to this effect really conclusive?

[2] This form is clearly identical with *Sinlendi*, an old name for some district in the southern part of the Jutish peninsula (Ann. Einhardi 815); cf. also Bremer, *op. cit.*, p. 837.

sailed in five days from Sciringes Healh (Skiringssal[1]) to a town which is called *aet Haethum*; it is situated between the Wends (Slavs) and the Saxons and Angel and belongs to the Danes.... For two days before he arrived there he had on his starboard Gotland and Sillende and many islands. The Angli dwelt in those lands before they came to this country." It is clear that the place here called *aet Haethum* is identical with Haithaby or Slesvig, while *Gotland*, whatever may be the explanation of this form[2], can hardly mean anything else than Jutland. The importance of these passages consists not only in their confirmation of the identity of Angel with the modern Angel, but also in the fact that they amount to a good deal more than a mere expansion of Bede's words. Indeed there is nothing definite to show that the king had Bede's account in his mind at all. It is noteworthy that according to him the Angli came from a region much more extensive than Angel itself.

It needs no demonstration to see that the identification of Angulus with Angel fits in with Bede's account extremely well. Angel might very well be described as lying between Jutland and the Saxons, i.e. the Nordalbingi of western Holstein. Again, Bede speaks of the Iutae as though they were still surviving as a nation on the Continent. Yet we have no evidence that in Bede's time this or any similar name was applied to any other people than the inhabitants of Jutland. On the whole, therefore, taking the positive and negative evidence together, we can hardly avoid concluding that by Angulus Bede meant the district now called Angel.

Of course the further and more important question, whether Bede's account is correct or not, remains to be discussed. Unfortunately the references in early Continental writers to nations called Angli and Iutae, or any similar names, are extremely few in number. There is however one passage which

[1] On the south coast of Norway, between Tonsberg and Laurvig.

[2] It is at least doubtful if the (Norse) form *Iótland* could be represented as *Gotlana* in Anglo-Saxon orthography at this early date. Some writers hold that the latter is quite a different name and compare *Reiðgotaland*, a name for Jutland in some sagas. In Skaldskaparmál, cap. 43, Skiöldr is said to have reigned over "what is now called Denmark, but then it was called Gotland." But this passage does not seem to refer specially to Jutland.

may point to a different origin of the Iutae from that which Bede seems to have had in his mind, and perhaps three altogether which indicate or suggest that the Angli did not come from Angel. These passages we must now proceed to examine in order.

Before doing so however it should be mentioned that objection has been taken to the identification of the Iutae with the inhabitants of Jutland on philological grounds. It has been stated on high authority[1] that though the form *Iótar*, by which the inhabitants of Jutland are known in Old Norse literature, may go back either to *Eutones* or *Jeutones* in an earlier stage of the language, yet the Danish name *Jyder* must represent a form which originally had initial *J-* (*Jeutiones*, *Jiutiones*, *Jūtiones*); consequently we cannot identify it with the English forms *Iuti*, *Iutae*, which clearly have initial *Īu-* (for earlier *Ēu-*). Unfortunately it seems not to have been explained why in this word, and in this word alone, initial *j-* should be preserved in a Scandinavian dialect. Unless some satisfactory reason for this phenomenon can be found we are surely justified in retaining what is clearly the simplest and most natural explanation, viz. that the *J-* of *Jyder* (earlier *Jȳtir*, Saxo's *Iuti*) is due to the influence of the parallel form *Jōtar*. The earlier form of the name would be *Ýtir*, which occurs, like other national names, in Old Norse poetry in the vague sense of 'men.' *Iótar* and *Ýtir* will then represent parallel stems, *Eutan-*, *Iutia-* (earlier *Eutia-*), such as we frequently find among the names of Teutonic nations, e.g. *Fresones—Frisii*, *Rogans—Rugii*. Both stems can be traced in English, the former in the *Eotena* (gen. pl.) of Beowulf (cf. p. 53), the latter in Bede's *Iuti*[2] and the *Ytum* (dat. pl.) of Widsith. Bede's alternative form *Iutae* (i.e. *Iutan*, *Eutiones*) will then be a secondary formation like *Englan*, *Frisiones*, due to confusion between the two stems.

[1] *Indogermanische Forschungen*, VII. 293.

[2] For the forms in the Anglo-Saxon version, IV. 16, cf. p. 5 and note. In I. 15 we find *Geatum*, *Geata*, which seem to show that the translator identified this people with the Geatas. Several recent writers have accepted the identification, but I cannot admit its probability. In any case this question has no bearing on the Danish form *Jyder*, for there is no evidence for such forms as *Geotas* or *Geotan* in Anglo-Saxon.

The names *Eutii, Eutiones* occur only twice in early Continental writings. One case is in Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* IX. 1. 73, where the poet, writing about 580, addresses King Chilperic in the following words:

quem Geta, Vasco tremunt, Danus, Euthio, Saxo, Britannus,
cum patre quos acie te domitasse patet.

No indication is given here as to the locality in which the Eut(h)iones lived. But the fact that they are mentioned between the Danes and the Saxons is rather favourable than otherwise to the supposition that the inhabitants of Jutland are meant[1]. The other instance occurs in Theodberht's letter to Justinian, quoted above (p. 97), in which Theodberht says that the Saxons and Eutii[2] (or possibly the Saxones Eutii) had submitted voluntarily to him. In this case it is not likely that the reference is to the inhabitants of Jutland. But, granting that these Eutii lived to the west of the Elbe or even in the Netherlands, does that prove that they were a different people? At a time when migratory movements towards the south and west appear to have been very frequent, when we find Saxons settling on both sides of the North Sea and the Channel, and when Danes and Götar were at least raiding in Holland, there is surely nothing improbable in supposing that the Jutes may have taken part in such movements. No doubt the Jutes who invaded Britain may have branched off from these southern settlements. But considering the fact that the southern Jutes are mentioned only once, and that too about a century after the invasion of Britain, it seems distinctly more probable that the Jutes of Britain came from the home-land[3].

The earliest reference to the Angli which has come down to us is in Tacitus, *Germ.* 40. In this case, however, no clear indication of their geographical position is given. The next occurs in Ptolemy, *Geogr.* II. 11. 15, where they are located to

[1] Cf. Schütte, *Var Anglerne Tyskere?*, p. 43.

[2] I am not certain that this name is not due to a scribal error; cf. p. 98, note.

[3] If we are right in identifying Hengest, the king of Kent, with the Hengest who entered the service of Finn, king of the Frisians (cf. p. 52), he probably came to Britain from the Netherlands. But there is no reason for supposing that any great length of time had elapsed since he left Denmark.

the west of the Elbe, apparently with the basin of the Weser as their centre. Both these passages will be discussed in a subsequent chapter, and it will be shown that Ptolemy's statements are incredible for reasons which are quite independent of any considerations derived from the history of the Angli. At the present moment we need not take these early writings into account; for even if confirmatory evidence were forthcoming it would be conceivable that the geographical position of the Angli might have changed between the second and the fifth centuries.

In later writings, if we exclude passages obviously based upon Bede's account, there are only two references to the existence of a people called Angli on the Continent. One of these occurs in Adam of Bremen, I. 3. After quotations from Orosius and Gregory of Tours, describing the piratical incursions of the Saxons, we find the following words: "The Saxons therefore at first had their abode on both sides of the Rhine and were called Angli." The last four words, however (*et uocati sunt Angli*), do not occur in the earliest MS. and it is likely enough that they are due to some subsequent scribe, to whom they may have been suggested by the opening words of the quotation from Einhard (cf. p. 92) which immediately follows. In any case, considering the character of the statement itself and the date of the work in which it occurs, one would require much courage to uphold its authority against that of Bede, unless strong confirmatory evidence was forthcoming.

The Warni.

The second reference occurs in the title of a certain code: *Incipit Lex Angliorum et Werinorum hoc est Thuringorum*[1]. Mention has already been made of this code (p. 81 f.) and it has been pointed out that in regard to the classification of society it shows affinity with English custom, particularly with that of Kent. In other respects however it has much more resemblance to the Frankish laws[2].

[1] This title occurs in only one of the two texts of the Lex. In the other it is described simply as *Lex Thuringorum*. In Canute's (spurious) Forest Laws, § 33, it is referred to under the title *Lex Werinorum, i.e. Thuringorum*.

[2] Cf. Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, I. p. 251, where it is pointed out that the arrangement of the code is based on that of the Lex Ribuaria.

It is believed to date from the ninth century[1], but unfortunately the locality for which it was drawn up is a matter of dispute. There can be little doubt that the name *Werini* is only another form of *Warni* (*Guarni*, Οὔαρνοι), a tribal name which occurs not unfrequently. We have seen (p. 19) that in Procopius, *Goth.* IV. 20, a tribe bearing this name is brought into connection with the Angli, though in this case the latter are represented as coming from Britain in ships to attack them. Procopius here states that the Warni were separated from the Franks only by the Rhine. Therefore, since they lived in a marshy region and were exposed to attacks from the sea, we must suppose that their kingdom was situated in Holland between the Rhine and the Zuyder Zee. Elsewhere, however, Procopius speaks of Warni in quite a different quarter. In II. 15, after relating the overthrow of the Heruli by the Langobardi, he says that some of the former crossed the Danube and entered the territories of the Roman Empire. Others, however, set out across the desert of the Slavs, and came first to the Warni and then to the Danes, after which they took ship and sailed to an island called Thoule, which from his description of it clearly means Sweden and Norway. Again, from III. 35 it appears probable that the Warni were not very far removed from the Langobardi, who, whatever their exact position, were certainly settled east of the Elbe at this time. These passages therefore indicate that there were Warni to the east or north of the lower Elbe during the first half of the sixth century. Consequently, if Procopius' evidence is to be trusted, the nation must have been split up into two distinct branches. It is worth observing however that Procopius himself does not record this fact. Indeed his knowledge of the geography of northern Europe is so vague[2] that we have no reason for believing him to have been aware of the fact that these two localities, the Rhine and the neighbourhood of the Danes, were distant from one another.

In Cassiodorus, *Variarum* III. 3, Theodric, king of the

[1] Cf. Paul's Grundriss, III[2]. p. 67; Brunner, *op. cit.*, p. 352.

[2] Οὔαρνοι μὲν ὑπὲρ Ἴστρον ποταμὸν ἵδρυνται, διήκουσι δὲ ἄχρι τε ἐς Ὠκεανὸν τὸν ἀρκτῷον καὶ ποταμὸν Ῥῆνον ὅσπερ αὐτούς τε διορίζει καὶ Φράγγους καὶ τἄλλα ἔθνη ἃ ταύτῃ ἵδρυνται.

Ostrogoths, appeals to the kings of the Heruli, Warni (*Guarni*) and Thuringi to join him in an alliance against Clovis in order to compel the latter to desist from his threatened attack upon the Visigoths. The date of the letter is not exactly known, but it must be earlier than 507, in which year the attack actually took place. Now the view has frequently been put forward[1] that the Warni mentioned here were the western branch of that nation, that the Heruli and Thuringi also lived in the neighbourhood of the lower Rhine, and that these Thuringi are the people to whom the code which we are discussing refers. How the Warni came to be identified with the Thuringi seems not to have been explained; but since according to this theory the two were presumably neighbouring nations, it is conceivable that they might subsequently have amalgamated. The theory, however, seems to me to be open in some respects to serious objections. It is true that we do find Heruli raiding on the lower Rhine at the beginning of the fourth century[2], and later in the same century Ammianus Marcellinus (XX. 1. 3, 4. 2, etc.) speaks of Heruli who were serving with Bataui in the Roman armies. But we have no evidence elsewhere for a kingdom of the Heruli in this region. Again, there are frequent references to a district called Thoringia to the south of the lower Rhine, apparently in Brabant; but we have no other evidence for a nation called Thuringi here. Indeed this district was under the Franks both in the fifth century and also presumably when Hygelac (Chochilaicus) made his incursion, about the year 520. On the other hand it is certain that there were at this time powerful kingdoms both of the Heruli and the Thuringi in central Germany, in or around the basin of the Elbe. The hypothesis then that there were three nations called Warni, Heruli and Thuringi on the lower Rhine, as well as three nations called Warni, Heruli and Thuringi farther to the east, seems to me to involve an improbable degree of coincidence. Lastly, this coincidence is rendered all the more remarkable by the fact, which we know from Procopius, *Goth.* I. 12[3], that Irminfrith, king

[1] Cf. Bremer, Paul's Grundriss, III[2]. pp. 834 f., 851; Hoops, *op. cit.*, p. 583 f.

[2] Mamertinus, *Paneg. Maximiano Aug. dictus*, cap. 5.

[3] Bremer (Grundriss, III[2]. p. 879) holds that the Thuringi (Θόριγγοι) mentioned

of the Thuringi (i.e. the Thuringi in the basin of the Saale), did about this time negotiate an alliance with Theodric from fear of the Franks.

So far as the Thuringi of Cassiodorus are concerned I think this view may safely be rejected. With regard to the Heruli it is impossible to speak with the same confidence[1], since we have good reason for believing that this nation was split up into two or more branches. Moreover the fact that the name Heruli never occurs in Frankish, Saxon or English authors is difficult to reconcile with the prominent position assigned to this nation in Roman, Gothic and Langobardic writings and gives ground for supposing that they were known by more than one name. As for the presence of Warni in the Netherlands Procopius' statement, made twice over, that they were separated from the Franks only by the Rhine, must of course count for something, in spite of the inaccuracy of his geography. On the other hand we have no other evidence for the presence of Warni—or Angli either[2]—in the Netherlands; nor again is there any reference to the prevalence of separate national laws (as distinct from the Frankish and Frisian) in this region.

Another view, put forward long ago by Zeuss (*op. cit.* p. 362 f.), is that the Warni were identical with the North Suabi, who were settled between the Unstrut and the Bode by Lothair and Sigibert (cf. p. 91). This view has two strong points in its favour: (i) that the North Suabi (*Suabi Transbadani*) long retained separate national laws (cf. p. 97), and (ii) that they were settled in territory which had formerly belonged to the

earlier in this chapter belonged to the lower Rhine. But I do not see how this can be maintained; for Procopius' language distinctly implies that he is speaking of the same people in both passages.

[1] If it could be shown that Theodric's letter was written after the events narrated by Procopius, *Goth.* II. 14, we should of course be bound to conclude that there was another Herulian kingdom at this time. But we do not know exactly the date of these events, except that it was before 512 (cf. Chron. Marcell. Com. ad ann.). The other two letters (Cass., *Var.* IV. 2, 45) which may have a bearing on this question likewise give no dates.

[2] Except in the passage (interpolation?) in Adam of Bremen mentioned above (p. 108), which can hardly be taken seriously. Bremer (*op. cit.*, p. 851 f.) suggests the emendation of *Angleuarii* in the Notitia Dignitatum to *Angli*, *Varini*; but it is surely more probable that this form is a corruption of *Angriuarii*.

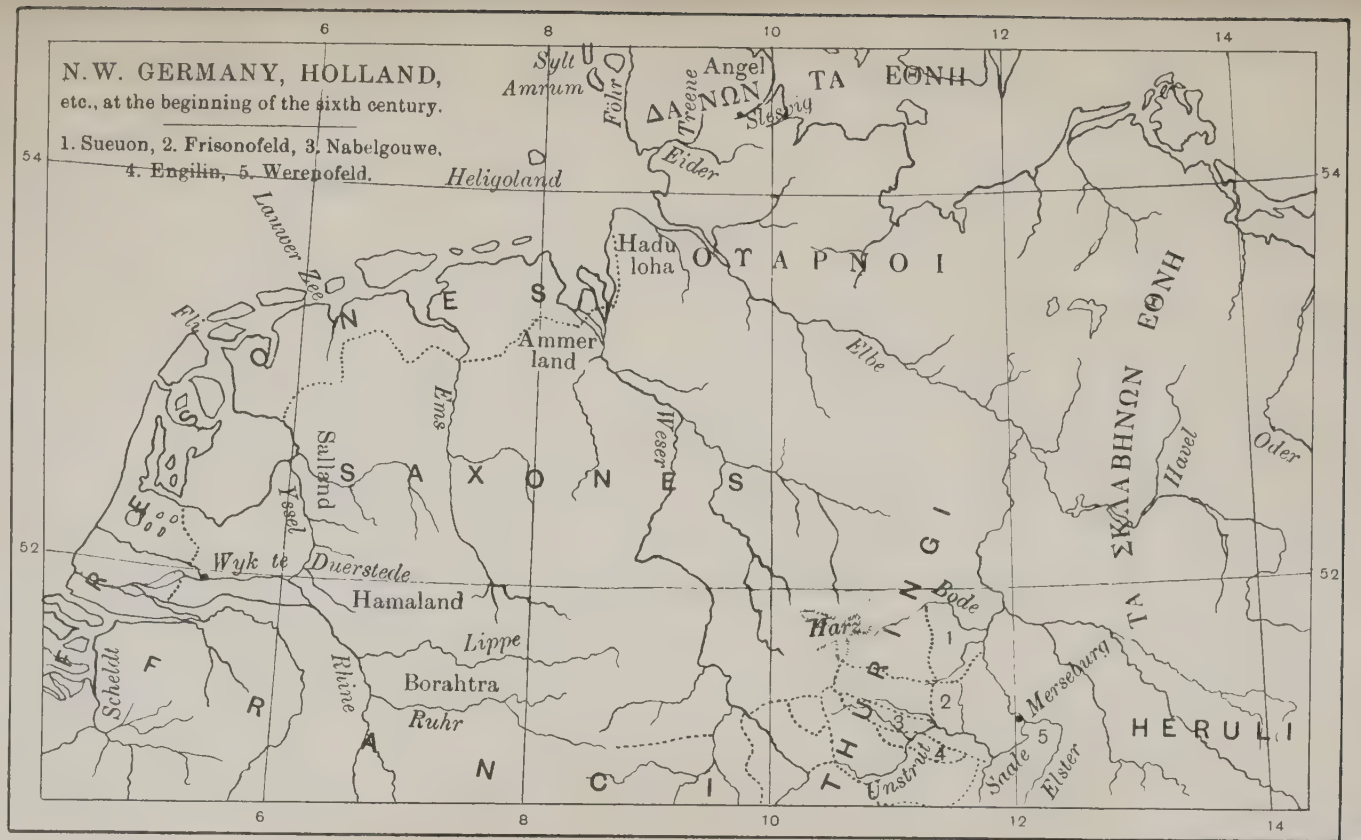
Thuringi—a fact which might explain the identification of the Werini with the Thuringi in the Lex. The fact that the Warni rebelled against the Franks in 595 (Chron. Fredegari, cap. 15) is of course inconclusive, for they might have become subject to the Franks in the Netherlands as well as in the basin of the Saale.

The two points noted above seem to me to tell so strongly in favour of Zeuss' view that until further evidence is forthcoming I think we are almost bound to admit some connection between the Anglii and Werini and the Suabi Transbadani. Moreover there are one or two additional facts which we ought to take into account. The district between the Saale and the Elster was called Werenofeld in the time of Charlemagne[1], a name which suggests that the district in question had been inhabited by Warni before it became Slavonic. Again, immediately to the south of the Unstrut there was a canton called Engilin (*Engeli*, *Engli*, etc.), and names compounded with *Engel-*, *Angl-* seem to be fairly numerous throughout the basin of that river. The occurrence of these two names in more or less adjacent districts, both of which must have been included in the old Thuringian kingdom, certainly seems to throw some light on the expression *Angliorum et Werinorum hoc est Thuringorum*. It is true of course that neither the canton Engilin nor the district called Werenofeld lies within the area believed to have been occupied by the North Suabi in the ninth and tenth centuries. But it is quite possible that at one time the territories of the North Suabi may have extended beyond the Saale and the Unstrut. As a matter of fact the district between the Saale and the Elster appears not to have been conquered by the Slavs much before the middle of the seventh century[2], and we have no reason for thinking that it had ever been really occupied by the Franks. Again, we are told that the whole of Thuringia was ravaged by the Franks in 555 in consequence of the assistance which the Saxons had derived from it in their rebellion[3]. This would

[1] Mon. Germ., Leg., v. 112.

[2] Cf. Zeuss, *op. cit.*, p. 637 f.

[3] Greg. Tur., iv. 10: cf. Venant. Fort. vi. 1. 75 f., where Lothair is said to have triumphed over two nations, *Nablis* and *Thoringia*, the former of which seems to


N.W. GERMANY, HOLLAND,
etc., at the beginning of the sixth century.
1. Sueuon, 2. Frisonofeld, 3. Nabelgouwe,
4. Engilin, 5. Werenofeld.
6
8
10
12
14
54
52
Sylt
Amrum
Föhr
Angel
ΔΑΝΩΝ
ΤΑ ΕΘΝΗ
Treene
Sleswig
Eider
Heligoland
Lauwer Zee
Hadu loha
ΟΥΑΡΝΟΙ
Ammer land
Elbe
Ems
Weser
Saland
Yssel
Wyk te Duerstede
Hamaland
Lippe
Rhine
Borahtra
Ruhr
Scheldt
Harz
Bode
Merseburg
Unstrut
Saale
Elster
ΣΚΛΑΒΗΝΩΝ ΕΘΝΗ
Havel
Oder
HERULI
1
2
3
4
5

seem to show that the Franks had not at that time settled there in any considerable numbers[1]. It is scarcely impossible therefore that the Saxons, and after them the North Suabi, may have taken possession of almost the whole of the Thuringian kingdom and that the frontier of historical times may not have been fixed until later. Of course if the name Anglii in the Lex does refer to the canton Engilin we shall have to suppose that a body of law or custom known as the Law of the Anglii and the Werini was in existence before the present code was issued; but I do not know that any improbability is involved in such a hypothesis.

It is perhaps worth pointing out that the two views expressed above as to the locality occupied by the Warni may not be wholly irreconcilable. We have seen above (p. 100 f.) that there is some evidence for supposing that the North Suabi came from the Netherlands. Consequently, if Zeuss was right in believing that the North Suabi and the Warni were the same nation, Procopius' statement that the latter lived (in Theodberht's time) about the mouth of the Rhine might be confirmed. The people who settled between the Unstrut and the Bode might then be descended from the western and not from the eastern division of the Warni. There is just one point however in Zeuss' theory which seems to me to be open to doubt. That the people known in the tenth century as Suabi Transbadani were the same as the Anglii and Werini of the Lex appears very probable. But I hesitate to believe that the names Warni and Suabi denoted the same nation in the sixth century. In the Anglo-Saxon poem Widsith the two are clearly distinguished. Thus in l. 22 ff. we find "Witta ruled the Swaefe.....Billing (ruled) the Werne"; and again in l. 59 ff. "I have been with the Waerne.....and with the Swaefe." Further, the mention of the Warni *eo nomine* in

correspond, in name at least, to the later Nabelgouwe. Possibly it was after this rebellion that the planting of the North Suabi began. Gregory attributes it to both Lothair and Sigibert; but the former died seven years before Alboin's expedition.

[1] Baron K. F. v. Richthofen (Mon. Germ., Leg., v. 114) holds that the districts inhabited by the Anglii and Werini (Engilin and Werenofeld) were not conquered by the Franks until a later time; but he does not connect the Anglii and Werini with the North Suabi.

Fredegar's Chronicle (see above) suggests that the Franks did not at this time identify the two names, for the term North Suabi occurs more than once in Frankish writings. We have to remember however that Gregory when describing the settlement in Thuringia uses the expression *Suauos et alias gentes*. The true explanation therefore seems to me to be that the settlers were a congeries of different nationalities which Lothair and Sigibert had brought together into the lands vacated by the Saxons—perhaps in order to secure their frontier against the Avars. If so the settlers may have come both from the Netherlands and from the east side of the Elbe. At all events we never again hear of the Warni in either direction. Their existence as an independent nation may therefore have come to an end about this time.

Of course I do not deny that the Warni and the North Suabi may have been kindred nations. Both are brought into connection with the Angli in some form or other. In Widsith the Angli and the Suabi are twice mentioned side by side, l. 44: *Engle and Swaefe*, and l. 61: *mid Englum and mid Swaefum*, while the Angli and the Warni are brought together in Tacitus, *Germ.* 40, and in the title of the Lex, as well as in the story told by Procopius (IV. 20). It seems to me more probable however that the North Suabi are really to be identified with the Heruli. We have seen that the latter name never occurs in Frankish, Saxon or English works. Similarly the North Suabi are never mentioned by Roman, Gothic or Langobardic writers[1]. It seems possible therefore that the two names denote the same nation, the former being the one used by its (Swabian and Gothic) neighbours on the east and south, while the latter was that by which it was known to the tribes on the west[2]. The North Suabi, i.e. the North Suabi proper, of Thuringia may in that case have been descended from the Heruli settled about the mouth of the Rhine. On the other hand they may also have come in

[1] The passage in Paul. Diac., *Hist. Lang.* II. 6, is derived from Greg. Tur., V. 15.

[2] It has been suggested with much probability that the name *Heruli* is the same word as Ang.-Sax. *eorlas*, 'nobles,' O. Sax. *erlos*, 'men.' This word seems not to have been used in the Gothic and Swabian languages—a fact which may not be without significance.

part from the Herulian kingdom which was destroyed by the Langobardi.

As for the Warni it is clear that they did not settle in the basin of the Saale before the middle of the sixth century, for both the regions in which they are mentioned by Procopius lie far from that district. But the evidence at our disposal is hardly sufficient, I think, to enable us to decide from which of these two districts they came. So also with regard to the Angli of the Lex—granting that these are the same people whose name survived in that of the canton Engilin—their history can scarcely have been different from that of the neighbouring tribes, especially in view of Procopius' story. If the Warni really came from the Netherlands the Angli may have accompanied them; and perhaps some support may be found for this view in Procopius' statement (Goth. IV. 20) that in Theodberht's time large numbers of Angli from Britain were settling within the Frankish dominions[1]. On the other hand, if there was no kingdom of the Warni at the mouth of the Rhine—if the events related by Procopius really took place in Holstein, it is scarcely impossible that a portion of the Angli may have joined the Warni there; for, as we have seen, the passage in Germ. 40 suggests that the two tribes had been closely connected from ancient times.

At all events there is no reason for supposing that the Angli inhabited the basin of the Unstrut before they invaded Britain. Apart from the inherent improbability of such a hypothesis on geographical grounds, we must remember that the tribes with which they had the closest relationship, the Warni and the North Suabi, did not settle in this district until after the middle of the sixth century, while before that time the Unstrut seems to have been the centre of the Thuringian kingdom. Indeed it would scarcely be necessary to notice this hypothesis at all but for a singular error which found its way into Zeuss' monumental work (p. 153), namely that this was the district in which the

[1] Though no confirmation of this statement is to be found elsewhere (cf. p. 18), it is perhaps worth noting that many place-names of a distinctly English type occur in the neighbourhood of Boulogne; cf. Waitz, *Das alte Recht*, p. 56 f., and Meitzen, *op. cit.*, p. 554, where, however, a different explanation is given.

Angli were located by Ptolemy. As a matter of fact it is quite clear, as we shall see later, that Ptolemy placed the Angli (Σουήβοι Ἀγγειλοί) to the north or north-west of the Cherusci and Chatti. The centre of their territory would therefore lie in the lower part of the basin of the Weser, a district which is about as far from the Unstrut as it is from Angel or the marshlands of the lower Rhine. We may observe further that this theory is difficult to reconcile even with the vague indications as to the position of the Angli given by Tacitus. According to him the only noteworthy characteristic possessed by the group of tribes to which the Angli belonged was that they worshipped a goddess named Nerthus, whose sanctuary was situated on 'an island in the Ocean.' This remark has no point if the cult was shared by the Semnones and Langobardi, who are mentioned just before. Yet according to the theory we are discussing, these important tribes lay between the Angli and their island sanctuary. Indeed it would almost seem that Zeuss had forgotten the cult of Nerthus when he wrote his section on the Angli, for in another passage (p. 26) he says that this goddess was worshipped among the ancient inhabitants of the western end of the Baltic Sea[1].

The conclusions to which we have been brought may perhaps at first sight be thought to lend some colour to the statement in Adam of Bremen, I. 3—poor as the authority for this statement undoubtedly is—that the Angli dwelt originally on the Rhine. It should be observed, however, that, whether the Warni and North Suabi came from the Netherlands or not, there is no evidence that that country was the original home of these nations. For no ancient writers mention the presence of Warni in this

[1] Zeuss' theory has been elaborated at some length in a paper 'Ueber die Heimat und den Namen der Angeln,' by Prof. A. Erdmann (Upsala, 1890). No attempt, however, is made to explain either of the difficulties noted above, though a very unnatural interpretation is given (p. 21 f.) of the opening words of Germ. 41. The author seems to have examined only a small portion of the evidence in favour of the view that the Angli came from Angel. Thus, for example, no account appears to have been taken of the story of Scyld—Sceaf or of the affinities of the cult of Nerthus with Scandinavian religion, while the Danish version of the story of Offa and 'his wife Hermuthruda' is dismissed in a couple of sentences (p. 49 f.). In more recent works Zeuss' theory seems to have been generally abandoned.

region; indeed both Tacitus and Ptolemy locate them in the east. So also with the Suabi. No Suebi are recorded to have lived in the Netherlands by early writers; but we shall see later that there is evidence for the existence of a tribe of this name to the north of the lower Elbe. The conclusion therefore to which we are brought is that there is no evidence—in works dating from later than the second century—for believing that the Angli lived in Western Germany before they came to Britain[1]; and further, that the nations in this region who were most closely connected with the Angli, namely the Warni and the Suabi, had migrated from districts north of the lower Elbe. Consequently the evidence tends rather to support Bede's statements than otherwise. In the following chapter we shall see that these statements receive the fullest confirmation from English and Danish tradition.

[1] Linguistic evidence has been brought forward to show that the Saxons, and in part the Angli also, settled in the Netherlands before they invaded Britain (cf. especially Hoops, *op. cit.*, p. 575 ff.). But these loanwords, so far as they are not of British origin (cf. perhaps Ang.-Sax. *peran*, *pise* with Welsh *per*, *pys*), may at least equally well be due to the constant intercourse which we know to have gone on between the Angli and the Franks during the sixth and seventh centuries. Indeed certain words (e.g. *biscop*) hardly admit of any other explanation; cf. Bede, *H.E.*, I. 25. Of course it is not to be denied that warriors from the Netherlands may have joined the invaders.

CHAPTER VI.

THE KINGS OF ANGEL.

The Vitae Duorum Offarum is a work which professes to give a history of the foundation of St Albans Abbey. It has been ascribed to Matthew Paris, the famous historian and monk of that house, who died about the year 1259. Most scholars, however, now think that, though used by him, it was probably the work of an earlier writer belonging to the same abbey[1].

The Life of Offa the First is to the following effect. Once upon a time there was a king of the 'West Angles' (which probably means the Mercians here) whose name was Warmundus. He built the town of Warwick, which was called after him. At the time the story opens he was advanced in years and feeble. He had an only son named Offa, who was now thirty years of age. The latter had been blind until his seventh year and, though of great size and strength, he was still dumb and thus unfit to govern. One of the chief nobles, named Riganus, encouraged by another whose name was Mitunnus, endeavoured, first by entreaties and then by threats, to get himself adopted by the king as his successor. Having failed in these plans he had recourse to armed rebellion. Warmundus in view of the threatened danger called together his nobles to discuss what ought to be done. While all were in doubt Offa suddenly obtained the power of speech and demanded that his own and his father's rights should be preserved. He then offered to lead the king's forces, and the latter greatly encouraged by this event set out against the rebels. The two

[1] Cf. Luard, Matthaei Parisiensis Chronica Maiora, I. pp. xxxii, lxxx; Suchier, Paul and Braune's Beiträge, IV. 507.

armies met on the opposite banks of a deep river called Riganburne. Offa dashed across the river at the head of his troops and slew the two sons of Riganus, who were named Hildebrandus and Sueno, with his own hand. The victory of the king's army was complete and great numbers of the rebels were killed. Warmundus met his son as he was returning from the battle and handed over the sovereignty to him. Shortly afterwards he died and was buried at Gloucester.

Offa's reign was for the most part peaceful and prosperous. One day when hunting in the woods he met a young woman who stated that she was the daughter of the king of York and that she had fled from home in order to escape from the incestuous desires of her father. Offa conducted her to a place of safety and subsequently, on being entreated by his councillors to marry, he took her to wife. By her he had two children. After this the king of the Northumbrians sent an embassy to beg for his assistance against the Scots. While he was engaged in this campaign one of his messages was intercepted by the king of York. The letter was altered and orders were inserted that the regents were to put Offa's wife and children to death. On receipt of this message the queen and her children were taken into the woods and the latter were cruelly slaughtered. The cries of the mother however attracted the attention of a hermit, who by his prayers restored the children to life and subsequently conveyed them all to his cell. The king, discovering on his return what had happened, caused careful search to be made for his wife, but for a long time all his efforts were fruitless. At length he came one day, when hunting, upon the hermit's cell and was overcome with joy at finding both his wife and children safe. In obedience to the hermit's directions he made a vow to found a religious house as a thank-offering for recovering them. This vow, however, he subsequently forgot, and it remained unfulfilled until the day of his death, when he laid it as a solemn charge upon his son. The latter also failed to perform it and handed it on in turn to his son; and so the vow remained unfulfilled through several generations until the time of Offa the Second.

The second Life, which is much the longer of the two, need

not be described in detail here. However much scepticism may be felt as to the historical truth of many of the incidents which it records, there is yet no room for doubt that this later Offa is the famous king of that name who reigned over Mercia from 757 to 796. It will be sufficient here to notice a few passages which deal chiefly with the history of his wife.

One day during the reign of Offa there arrived on the shore of Britain a small boat without any means of navigation. It contained a young woman who was reduced to the last stage of exhaustion through hunger and exposure. Having been brought before the king she gave her name as Drida, and stated that she was a relative of Karolus, king of the Franks, and that she had been cast adrift in this way through the malice of certain persons of ignoble blood, from whom she had refused to accept an offer of marriage. The truth, however, was that she had been found guilty of a serious crime (the nature of which is not stated) and condemned to death; but, owing to her relationship to the king, it had been decided to cast her adrift upon the sea instead of putting her to death by a more direct method. After being revived by food she was found to be of extraordinary beauty, and subsequently she was married by Offa against the will of his parents, who suspected the depravity of her character. Thenceforth she was known as Quendrida (*id est, Regina Drida*).

Offa and Quendrida had three daughters. The eldest of these was married to Brithricus (Berhtric), king of Wessex, and the second to Atheldredus (Aethelred), king of Northumbria, while the third, Aelfleda, had been promised to Albertus (Aethelberht), king of East Anglia. These marriages were little to the liking of Quendrida, who had desired to have her daughters given in marriage to Frankish princes, in order that by their aid she might be able to destroy her husband. When the marriage of Aelfleda had been arranged, Albertus was invited to Offa's palace. The queen endeavoured first to induce her husband to have him put to death, and when he indignantly repudiated this suggestion she devised a plan for getting rid of him herself. Entering into the hall where Offa and Albertus were sitting together, she invited the latter to come and see his

bride. When he had entered the bride-chamber she asked him to take his seat upon a chair which she had placed over a hole in the floor. Through this Albertus fell and was immediately put to death by assassins who were hidden below.

Quendrida devised many schemes for the destruction of her husband, but all of them came to nothing. Eventually she was herself murdered by robbers on the spot where Albertus had been put to death. After this, Offa, realising the magnitude of the mercies he had received, the prosperity of his kingdom and his frequent escapes from the plots of his wife, decided to found a religious house at St Albans as a thank-offering. Thus the vow which he had inherited from his ancestors was at last fulfilled.

This story, in so far as it refers to the queen, has no claim to be regarded as historical. The true name of Offa's wife was not Quendrida (i.e. Cwoenthryth) but Cynethryth. Of her origin nothing is known, but the manner in which Alcuin speaks of her in a letter to her son Ecgfrith (*disce...a patre auctoritatem, a matre pietatem...ab utroque Christianae religionis deuotionem... et totius uitae sobrietatem*[1]) gives no countenance to the idea that she was a woman of depraved character. According to the Saxon Chronicle Aethelberht was put to death by Offa, and we have no authority earlier than Florence of Worcester for the statement that Cynethryth was concerned in the murder. Offa's daughter Eadburg, however, is said to have been of a vicious disposition (Asser, cap. 14), and it is possible that some of her characteristics may have been transferred by tradition to her mother. The growth of the legend may have been promoted further by confusion with Cwoenthryth, the daughter of King Coenwulf, Ecgfrith's successor, who is said, though on late and poor authority, to have murdered her brother.

It was recognised long ago that in spite of the legendary elements in the story there can be no doubt that the later Offa is the well-known king of Mercia. On the other hand, the early editors of the Vitae were not able to identify the first Offa with any known king. They recognised indeed the fact

[1] Jaffé, *Bibl. Rer. Germ.* VI. p. 267.

that twelve generations above Offa the same name does occur again in the Mercian genealogy, and, further, that the father of this earlier Offa was called Wermund; but at the same time they pointed out with truth that, if we are to credit the evidence of the genealogy, these persons must have lived considerably before the invasion of Britain. During the last two centuries, however, much new evidence has been brought to elucidate the story. The most important is that which is derived from legends given by the Danish historians, especially Saxo and Svend Aagesen.

The story given by Saxo (p. 105 ff.) is as follows. There was once a king of the Danes whose name was Vigletus. He was succeeded by his son Wermundus, whose reign was long and prosperous. Wermundus' only son, whose name was Uffo, was born to him when he was well advanced in years. He was of great stature and strength, but from his early years he kept his lips sealed in perpetual silence and was regarded as dull and foolish. His father obtained for him in marriage the daughter of a certain Frowinus, who was the governor of Slesvig and one of his most distinguished men.

The country about Slesvig was much disturbed by the incursions of a warlike king of Sweden whose name was Athislus. Between his forces and those of Frowinus there were many battles. At length the two chiefs met in single combat and Frowinus was slain. His sons, Keto and Wigo, were appointed by Wermundus to the office held by their father, an act which soon brought about another raid on the part of Athislus. Keto sent Folco, his chief officer, to Wermund at Jællinge with the news, and the king rewarded the messenger for his martial spirit with a golden cup. Folco in return vowed that rather than take to flight he would drink as much of his own blood as the cup would hold. When the two armies met in battle Athislus was defeated, but succeeded in escaping to his ships in spite of Folco's bravery, and the latter carried out his vow by drinking his own blood from his helmet. Keto expressed his surprise that they had not been able to overtake their enemy, and the king in explanation gave a long description of the various classes of warriors—an account which appears

to have suffered in transmission[1]. Subsequently Keto and Wigo passed over to Sweden in disguise, desiring to exact vengeance for their father's death. Having succeeded in obtaining access to Athislus' presence when he was alone Keto challenged him to single combat. In the duel which ensued Keto was thrown down; but Wigo came to his assistance, and finally Athislus fell before the combined onslaught of the two brothers. On their return home they were received with honour by Wermundus, who considered that they had performed a useful deed in getting rid of so dangerous an enemy. But the general opinion of men was that they had brought dishonour upon their nation by violating the rules of single combat. According to Svend Aagesen it was this national disgrace which deprived Uffo of speech until his thirtieth year.

When Wermundus had come to extreme old age the king of Saxony sent an embassy to him demanding the surrender of his kingdom. If he was to refuse and had a son capable of fighting, then the matter was to be decided by a single combat between the sons of the two kings. Wermundus, stung by the insult and believing his son to be incapable of fighting, said that though he was blind he would himself fight with the king of Saxony rather than surrender. At this point however Uffo opened his mouth for the first time after many years of silence and said that not only was he willing to fight with the son of the king of Saxony but, further, he was ready to let the latter have a chosen warrior to help him. By this he hoped to wipe out the disgrace which had been brought upon the Danish nation by the act of Keto and Wigo.

The duel was then agreed upon and an island in the river Eider selected as the place of combat. Great difficulty was experienced in finding a sword and armour suited to Uffo's enormous strength. When the time came Wermundus took his stand upon a bridge, intending to throw himself into the river as soon as he heard of his son's fall. Uffo, however, slew first the Saxon prince's champion and then the prince himself,

[1] In spite of what is said by Müllenhoff, *Beovulf*, p. 79, I am disposed to think that Wermund's title *hinn vitri* may be derived from this episode.

and obtained the kingdom of Saxony as the prize of victory. Of his later history Saxo has nothing to record.

The resemblance between the latter part of this story and the beginning of the Life of Offa the First is so striking that it is impossible to doubt that the two accounts refer to the same events. In one story we have an old king named Warmundus (Wermund in the genealogy) with an only son named Offa; in the other an old king named Wermundus with an only son named Uffo. In both stories the son is dumb or at least silent until his thirtieth year; and in both he obtains or recovers his speech on the occasion of an attempt to wrest the kingdom from his family. Lastly, in both stories the king's son engages single-handed and overthrows two of his enemies in the neighbourhood of a river.

On the other hand there are certain discrepancies between the two accounts which must not be lost sight of. In one story the adversaries of the king are rebels; in the other we have an act of aggression by a foreign king. In one story the event is decided by a pitched battle, in which Offa's single-handed contest is merely an incident; in the other there is no mention of any fighting except the single combat. Lastly—and this is by far the most important point—Warmundus and Offa are represented as kings of the 'West Angles,' and all the events related in connection with them take place in Britain, while on the other hand Wermundus and Uffo are called kings of the Danes, and the scene of Uffo's combat is laid on the frontier of Slesvig and Holstein.

In regard to the last point we have already seen that, if the evidence of the genealogies is to be trusted, Wermund and Offa cannot have lived in Britain. Again, it is not to be overlooked that, though Vigletus is represented by Saxo as king of Leire (in Sjælland), yet Wermundus himself and Uffo are never mentioned in connection either with the islands or with Skaane. Indeed all the places mentioned by name in their history, namely Jællinge (p. 108), Slesvig and the Eider, lie in the southern half of the Jutish peninsula, i.e. in or near the district which was believed by ancient English writers to have been the former home of our nation. We must therefore take into

account the possibility that these persons may have come to be regarded as kings of the Danes because they ruled over districts which belonged to Denmark in later times. For it is by no means inconceivable that when the Danes came into possession of these districts, especially if possession was acquired in a peaceful manner, they may have taken over the local traditions with them. Moreover there is one point in the story given by the Danish historians which distinctly favours this suggestion. The name *Wermundus* appears in a form which is not Danish but English or Frisian. It is true that in certain genealogies (e.g. Langfeðgatal)[1] the same person is called *Vármundr*, which is a true Scandinavian form. But the fact that Saxo and Svend Aagesen (together with other genealogies, e.g. Flateyiarbók, I. 27) call him *Wermundus* or *Vermundr*[2] surely goes to show that the form of the story known to them had been derived from a source which was not Danish.

It has been thought by some writers[3] that, since the form

[1] Langebek, *Script. Rer. Dan.* I. p. 5.

[2] According to Olrik, *Ark. f. nord. Filologi*, VIII. 370, the latter is really a case of the substitution of a well-known name for one that was uncommon. His explanation of *Wermundus* however is open to the objection that there is no satisfactory evidence for believing that *wēr-* was an *i*-stem (cf. Frank. *-uera* beside *-gundis*, *-childis* etc.).

[3] Especially by Müllenhoff, *Beovulf*, p. 72 ff., 80 ff. His reasons, though not very clearly expressed, appear to have been as follows: (1) that Vermundr and Uffi, probably also Frovinus, Vigi, Keto and Viglet, are not Danish names; (2) that the story is unknown in Old Norse literature and in the Annales Lundenses; (3) that Saxo's use of prose throughout shows that he had no Danish poems at his disposal. All these arguments seem to me to be of an inconclusive character. In regard to (1) I am not prepared to grant that the fact of a name occurring only once points to its being derived from a foreign source. If such a principle were applied to Anglo-Saxon history many well-authenticated names would have to be ruled out. As a matter of fact Müllenhoff's statement as to the non-occurrence of the name Uffi (Uffo) elsewhere is incorrect (cf. Saxo, p. 27 ff.). But in any case, even if none of these names are Danish, they need not have been obtained from England. (2) It is to be remembered that the southern part of the Jutish peninsula, with which this story deals, is seldom mentioned in Old Norse literature. Again, we shall see later that the time to which it refers is in all probability the fourth century, a period practically beyond the horizon of Norse tradition. The silence of such authorities is therefore only what might be expected. Yet there is really no doubt that Vermundr was mentioned in Skiöldunga Saga (cf. p. 150). As for the Ann. Lundenses the amount of space which they give to tradition is quite small. (3) If Saxo's use of verse is to be the test of the

Wermundus is English rather than Danish the story of these kings must have been acquired by the Danes in England at a time subsequent to the first Danish invasions of this country. But the forms of the other names which occur in the story as told by Saxo and Svend Aagesen are altogether against this supposition. Thus against *Offa* we have *Uffo*, which is clearly

genuineness of a tradition we shall have to exclude the stories of Scioldus, of Hotherus and Balderus, of Hithinus and Høginus, of Regnerus (Lodbrog) and many others as of non-Scandinavian origin.

It is to be observed that the Danish authorities differ a good deal among themselves as to the place in the genealogy at which Wermundus and Uffo are inserted and as to the presence or absence of Vigletus. Some again substitute a name *Olauus* (*Olafr*) for *Uffo*. These variations count strongly against the supposition that the story was derived through literary channels in late times. Müllenhoff distinguished two strata in the formation of Saxo's story. He held that the introduction of Vigletus was due to a late and literary borrowing, while the story of Wermundus and Uffo themselves was acquired orally at a much earlier date. To which of these strata the names Frowinus, Keto, Wigo, Folco and Athislus belong he seems not to have explained (though the assumption that the last named must be identical with the Athislus of the story of Roluo appears to be quite groundless). In any case the form of the story acquired by the Danes must, as Müllenhoff himself admitted (p. 83), have been of an entirely different character from that given in the Vita Offae I. This is shown by the absence of any reference to Britain. Of the personal names given in the Vita only two (Wermundus and Uffo) occur in the Danish accounts. Again, of the eight personal names which occur in the latter two (Keto and Folco) are unknown in England, while three (Vigletus, Frowinus and Wigo) appear only in the genealogies. There is no evidence for the survival of traditions concerning any of these persons in England. Indeed from the scarcity of literary references and the frequence of scribal errors in the spelling of proper names (e.g. *Wala*, *Henden*, *Hunferð*, *Geomor*, perhaps also *Garmund*, *Saeferð*) it seems to me very doubtful whether the old traditions were at all clearly remembered in England, even in the tenth century. Lastly, if the Danes were not acquainted with the story of Offa before they came here, how could they know that it referred to their own country? It is incredible, for instance, that the expression *bi Fifeldore* could have conveyed any geographical meaning to an Englishman of the tenth century. How many place-names capable of identification are to be found in Beowulf? Indeed, if the Danes were not acquainted with the story previously, the sole ground, so far as I can see, for their annexing it was the use of the name *Angel*. But in that case it is not a little remarkable that this name does not occur in any of the Danish versions of the story. If Müllenhoff's hypothesis were correct—if the stories of the kings of Angel, after being entirely forgotten, had been brought back from Britain and naturalised as popular traditions in their old home, and if the scenes of the events recorded in them had been identified, correctly too, by the inhabitants of later times—I think it is hardly too much to say that we should be faced with one of the most extraordinary phenomena in history. Cf. also the criticism by Olrik, *l.c.* p. 373 f.

another form of the same name; but it is a form which is not English but continental, especially Old Saxon. Again, *Frowinus* is a continental form (Old Saxon, Frisian or Danish), the English equivalent of which is *Freawine*. But, above all, this explanation entirely fails to account for the precise localisation of several of the events related in the Danish version of the story. Even the exact spot on which Uffo fought his single combat was clearly known to Saxo, although he does not give its name; for in a later passage (XII. p. 402) he states that Björn (Bero), the brother of King Eric Eiegod (1095—1103) fortified "the island where Uffo the son of Wermundus fought with two chosen champions of the Saxon nation." This fortress is said to have been built on the island on which the old part of Rendsburg stands[1].

On the other hand we must not suppose that the story was first learnt by the people of England from the Danish invaders of this country[2]. In the first place the earliest texts of the genealogy in which the names Wermund and Offa occur date from a period in which Danish influence is extremely improbable. The oldest extant MS. (Cott. Vesp. B. 6, fol. 108 f.; cp. p. 42), which is itself by no means the archetype, was written apparently between 810 and 814, i.e. at a time subsequent indeed to the first incursions of Scandinavian pirates but long anterior to the first real settlement of Danes in this country. Beyond this however we have certain references to a person or persons named Offa in ancient English poems. It will be convenient therefore at this point to take the evidence of these poems into account.

The first reference occurs in the poem Widsith, l. 35 ff. It

[1] Cf. Müllenhoff, *op. cit.*, p. 79. In the Chronicle of Peter Olaus the scene of the combat is said to have been a place called Kunungskamp. This is probably the same as Kampen, the old name of a parish in the outskirts of the same town (cf. Langebek, *Script. Rer. Dan.* I. p. 152 note). Possibly, after Saxo's time, the scene of the action may have been shifted to this place in local tradition owing to its name.

[2] Of course it is by no means impossible that the story may have been affected subsequently by Danish influence. If Danes from the neighbourhood of Slesvig, familiar with the traditions of their own land, became acquainted with the story of Offa in England, they could hardly fail to recognise the substantial identity of the two accounts. Syncretism might then follow not unnaturally. It is perhaps worth noting that one of the rebels slain by Offa bears a specifically Danish name (*Sueno*). On the whole, however, the evidence for such a connection is very slight.

comes at the end of a long list of nations or dynasties together with the chiefs who governed them, the formula employed being 'A. ruled over B.' Many of these chiefs are mentioned elsewhere in the poems, as well as in continental and Scandinavian historical works and traditions. The list ends as follows: "Offa ruled over Angel, Alewih over the Danes. He was the bravest of all these men; yet he did not prevail over (or surpass) Offa in heroism. But Offa at a time earlier than any other man, even when he was a boy, won the greatest of kingdoms. No one of like age has ever performed a more heroic deed. With his own sword alone he fixed (or enlarged) his frontier against the Myrgingas at Fifeldor. The boundary gained by Offa has been retained ever since by the Engle and the Swaefe."

From the statement that Offa won, single-handed, "the greatest of kingdoms" we can hardly doubt that this person is identical with the Uffo of the Danish historians, and consequently also with the earlier Offa of the Vitae. But here we find it definitely stated that he ruled over Angel, while it is distinctly implied by the context that he was not king of the Danes. The argument therefore derived from the topography of Saxo's story is fully confirmed by this passage. Another point which deserves to be noticed is that Offa's opponents are here described as Myrgingas, a name which, as it is not known outside this poem, ought probably to be regarded as dynastic rather than national. In l. 44 we find mention of the Swaefe beside the Engle, but unfortunately it is not clear from the context whether the two nations are represented as opponents or allies. To the Saxons there is no reference at all. Hence we are not in a position to decide whether Saxo's use of the names *Saxones* and *Saxonia* in this story is in accordance with ancient tradition. In Svend Aagesen's account the opponent of Wermundus and Uffo is described as *Imperator*, i.e. the Holy Roman Emperor, while his people are called *Allemanni*. Again, the only place-name given by the poem in this passage is *bi Fifeldore*, and it is tempting to connect this form with the name of the river Eider (*Egidora*)[1].

[1] It has been thought that there is a reference to the same river in the *portam quae Wieglesdor* (v. l. *Heggedor*) *uocatur* (Thietmari Chron., III. 4); cf. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythol.*[4] (Engl. Transl.), p. 239.

But, however this may be, it is hardly reasonable to expect that names of places would be faithfully preserved in the traditions of a people who had migrated over the sea.

It is curious that in one respect the evidence of the poem conflicts both with the Vita and with the Danish accounts of the story. According to both the latter authorities Offa (Uffo) was in his thirtieth year when he began to speak, and the combat immediately followed. Yet the poem lays stress on the early age at which Offa fought. Now, though we have no means whatever of dating the composition of the poem[1], there is no doubt that it is some centuries older than any of the other authorities. Consequently if we accept its statement as to Offa's age we shall have to suppose that the Vita and the Danish accounts have a common mistake. This is the one point which might be thought to indicate a connection, whether through writings or tradition, between the two versions of the story[2]. But I doubt whether such an inference on this ground alone would be justifiable. The mistake, if mistake it be, is one which might have arisen independently in the two traditions. One possible explanation is that the expression originally used in the recitation of the story[3] was *þritig missera* (i.e. fifteen years)[4]. This would

[1] I do not see how the substance of these poems can date from later than the end of the sixth century. No doubt they underwent a considerable amount of change in later times; but, except in a very small number of cases, it seems to me futile to try to separate the different elements.

[2] If there really is a connection it is only natural to suppose, since Widsith is an English poem, that the later English version has been influenced by the Danish (cf. p. 127, note). The opposite view was taken by Suchier (*l.c.*, p. 505), but I do not understand on what ground. The other coincidence pointed out (somewhat incorrectly) by this writer is surely accidental, viz. that Offa was blind till his seventh year according to the Vita, while Uffo ceased to speak at the same age according to the Chronicle of King Eric (Langebek, I. 152).

[3] It is often overlooked that these traditions were in all probability handed down according to a set form of words. The form was no doubt capable of modification or expansion at the hands of each successive reciter; the method however differed in principle from that which would be employed by persons of the present day. Mr Quiggin informs me that this is still the case in Ireland, in spite of the fact that metrical form is not used.

[4] It is perhaps worth noting that this is the age at which Skiöldr and Helgi Hundingsbani are said to have fought their single combats; cf. Saxo, p. 11; Helgakv. Hund., I. 10.

agree perfectly well with the statements of the poem; and at the same time it is a phrase which might very well be misunderstood in later times[1].

The other reference which contains the name Offa is in Beowulf, l. 1931 ff., a passage which unfortunately is one of the most obscure and difficult in the whole of Anglo-Saxon literature. The poet has been describing the virtues of Queen Hygd, the wife of Hygelac, king of the Götar. Suddenly, without any explanation, he proceeds as follows: "Thrytho, the haughty queen of the nation, was of an arrogant and terribly malicious disposition. Not one of her retinue except her husband was so courageous that he dared to gaze upon her openly, but he regarded deadly bonds, hand-plaited, as certain for him. No sooner was he seized than the sword was made ready, so that the appointed time (or 'the weapon with.....decoration'?) might decide the case (or 'show itself'?) and proclaim deadly destruction. That is no fitting habit for a lady to practise, even though she be peerless, that a 'peace-weaver' should deprive a friend of life from feigned indignation (?). At all events this was.....by Heming's relative. Yet according to the story told by warriors over their beer she desisted from malicious acts of violence and from bringing destruction upon her dependents from the time that she was given, adorned with gold, in marriage to the young warrior—when she, the lady of noble lineage, voyaged at her father's behest over the grey sea to Offa's abode. There, in the seat of authority, she acquired a reputation for virtue, which she retained ever after, making good use of her position as long as she lived and preserving constant affection for that prince of knights. But Offa himself was the most illustrious, so far as my knowledge goes, of the whole human race between the seas; for he was a brave soldier, honoured far and wide for his liberality and warlike prowess, and governed his country wisely. From him was sprung Eomer,

[1] In Scandinavian tradition the confusion would be especially easy, since the word *misseri* was used, at all events in Old Norse, both for 'year' and 'half a year' (cf. Cleasby-Vigfússon, *s.v.*). In Anglo-Saxon the word *missere* seems to be confined to poetry, and even there, so far as I am aware, there is no evidence, apart from Beowulf, that it denoted a definite period of time.

the relative of Heming and nephew (grandson?) of Garmund. He (Eomer) was a man who supported knights and excelled in deeds of valour."

This Offa, who is here described as "the most illustrious of the whole human race," can hardly be any other than the person mentioned in Widsith. For the catalogue of princes in the latter poem seems to give in each case the name of that prince who was the most famous in the traditions of his nation, without regard to the age in which he lived. Thus in the case of the Goths we find Eormenric and in the case of the Huns Aetla (Attila). Consequently we may infer with some probability that Offa was the most famous of the kings of Angel. Again, in the passage from Beowulf quoted above Offa has a descendant named Eomer (*Geomor*, MS.). This name, which is not a common one in Anglo-Saxon literature, is borne by Offa's grandson in the Mercian genealogy. It has been suggested also that *Garmund* is a mistake for *Waermund*, which would give still further confirmation, if such is required, to the identity of the two families. Our text of Beowulf is untrustworthy in regard to the treatment of proper names, and the form *Garmund* is not required for alliteration. I cannot find elsewhere any parallel for the use of *nefa* as 'great-grandson,' which is the relationship borne by Eomer to Wermund in the Mercian genealogy, but I do not know that such use of the word is open to serious objection[1].

On the other hand the wife of this Offa bears an obvious resemblance to the wife not indeed of the earlier but of the later Offa of the Vitae[2]. In both cases the name is the same, for *Drida* is a mere scribal corruption of *Thrythu* (*Thrytho*). Both women are guilty of murder and both are sent from home over the sea on account of their crimes, though the account given in Beowulf does not suggest that this journey was of the adventurous character described in the Vitae. Now we have seen that there are no early authorities for the belief that the wife of Offa, king of Mercia, was of the vicious disposition attributed to her in the St Albans document. The obvious

[1] Eomer might of course have had an uncle named Garmund.

[2] For the story of the wife of Offa I. cf. Suchier, *l.c.*, p. 512 ff.

inference therefore is that the wife of the earlier Offa has been transferred in English tradition to the Mercian Offa. The account of the murder of King Aethelberht given in the Vitae may possibly be an echo of the murder described in Beowulf, though in that case we must suppose that the incident on which it is based took place before Offa's marriage.

The evidence of the two passages discussed above shows that traditions concerning Offa had long been current in England. It is of course impossible to estimate with certainty the time at which these poems were composed; but practically all authorities agree in believing that they date from a period anterior to the settlement of the Danes in this country. The latest person mentioned in Widsith is Aelfwine (Alboin), king of the Langobardi, who died in 572–3, while the people who figure in Beowulf belong to a somewhat earlier period. Now we have seen (p. 18 f.) that there is no satisfactory evidence for the maintenance of communication between England and Denmark from the middle of the sixth century until the time of the Danish invasions. Thus we are led to conclude that the two traditions, English and Danish, have been preserved independently since the sixth century at the latest. The fact that certain legendary features, especially the dumbness or silence of Offa, are common to both forms of the story would seem to show that even then it had been in circulation for some considerable time[1].

The Danish tradition, especially as recorded by Saxo, gives a number of statements for which we find no parallels in the English documents discussed above. One or two of these are worth subjecting to inspection. According to Saxo Wermundus succeeded his father Vigletus. Now the latter is not a Danish name; indeed in the form in which it stands it can hardly represent a Teutonic name at all. But the name borne by Wermund's father in the Mercian genealogy, viz. Wihtlaeg, is not very different. If we may suppose that *Vigletus* is a corruption of *Vitleg*, which is by no means impossible, the two

[1] Unless indeed these features in the later English form of the story are derived entirely from Danish tradition—which I think is unlikely.

names will be identical. Here again, as in the case of Wermundus, the Danes must have taken over with the local traditions a name which did not conform to the sound-laws of their own language. The statements which Saxo makes about Vigletus, namely that he was king of Leire and that he overthrew the Jutish king Amlethus, we have unfortunately no means of testing.

There is however another element in Saxo's story which is of greater importance for our purpose. He says that in the reign of Wermund the governor of Slesvig was named Frowinus and that this person had a son named Wigo. Now if we turn to the West Saxon genealogy we find a father and son with the same two names in English form, viz. Freawine and Wig, in positions corresponding approximately to those held by Wermund and Offa in the Mercian genealogy and lying, like them, in the fourth and fifth generations from Woden. As both these names are decidedly uncommon the coincidence can hardly be accidental. Therefore, though no traditions have been preserved in England with reference to these reputed ancestors of the West Saxon dynasty, we need not hesitate to identify them with the two governors of Slesvig whose exploits are recorded by Saxo. It is rather curious to note that, according to Aetheleweard, Sceaf, the mythical ancestor of the same family, likewise ruled in Slesvig; but one would hardly be justified in laying much stress on this statement, as it is unlikely that such a name would be preserved in English tradition.

It appears then that by comparing the English and Danish versions of the story of Offa we are able to confirm fully the identification of the historical Angel with the Angel of tradition adopted long ago by our early historians—and, further, to reconstruct with more or less probability the outlines of a series of events which occurred at a very remote period of our national history. For some elements in the story—the aggression against King Wermund, the dumbness or silence of Offa and his subsequent victory over two opponents—we have what seems to be independent testimony in the traditions of both nations. On the other hand the story of Thrytho and her marriage with Offa

is known only from English sources[1], while the reign of Vigletus (Wihtlaeg) and the exploits of Frowinus and Wigo are recorded only by Danish writers. Even in the last case however we have corroborative evidence from the English side as to the existence of such persons in an age apparently corresponding to that of Wermund and Offa.

It still remains for us to make some attempt to fix the period in which these persons lived. It is generally supposed that we have no means of giving an answer to this question except by counting the generations from Penda, the first person in the Mercian genealogy whom we are able to date with anything like precision. Now Offa lies in the eighth generation above Penda; so if, in accordance with the usual standard of calculation, we allow thirty years for each generation, his birth should be dated about 240 years before that of his descendant. Therefore, if we are right in believing that Penda was born about the beginning of the seventh century (cf. p. 16), Offa's birth ought to be dated about the year 360. Again, if we apply the same process to the West Saxon genealogy and assume that Cerdic was born about the year 470, the birth of Wig, his fourth ancestor, will have to be dated about 350. But, for reasons which have been sufficiently stated above, I cannot regard this genealogy as trustworthy evidence.

I am inclined to think however that there is another possible means of approaching this question. In Saxo's story an important part is played by a person named Athislus, who is represented as a king of Sweden. Now, apart from Saxo, Scandinavian tradition knows of no Swedish king of this name except the Aðils (Eadgils) who had dealings with Hrólfr Kraki (Hrothwulf) and Biarki (Beowulf), and who lived apparently in the early part of the sixth century. Moreover, though it would not be wise perhaps to lay very much stress on this point, Slesvig is not an obvious place for a king of Sweden to attack. It is true that in the early years of the tenth century Swedish princes do seem to have conquered and occupied a portion of

[1] Müllenhoff (*op. cit.*, p. 81ff.) held that Hermuthruda, who in Saxo is the wife of Amlethus, was originally identical with Thrytho. Into this question however we need not enter here.

this district. But the original Sweden (Svealand) was a much smaller kingdom than the Sweden of the tenth century and consisted only of that part of it which lies farthest away from Slesvig. At all events we may remember that Danish tradition has made the kings of Angel into kings of the Danes. It is scarcely impossible therefore that a person who is represented as a king of Sweden may really have ruled over a different nation.

Now, with the exception of the famous Swedish king mentioned above, the only prince of this name known to us from either English or Scandinavian tradition is the Eadgils 'lord of the Myrgingas' who is mentioned in Widsith. Where exactly the Myrgingas lived we are not told; but, since it was against them and their princes that Offa fought his combat, we must conclude that they were near neighbours of the kings of Angel. If the fight took place on the Eider, as the Danish authorities say, the presumption is that their home was in Holstein. In that case it is easy to see that Slesvig would be the natural object of their attacks. Moreover there is another point in the story on which this explanation throws light. Both Saxo and Svend Aagesen lay stress on the disgrace which had been brought upon Wermundus' nation by the slaying of Athislus and on the removal of this disgrace by Uffo's achievement. If Athislus, as I have suggested, really belonged to the same dynasty as Uffo's opponents, it is clear that the story gains additional force.

The time at which Eadgils, lord of the Myrgingas, lived is fortunately made clear by several passages in Widsith. The poet states (l. 94) that he was in Eadgils' service and (l. 5 ff.) that in company with Ealhhild, who was apparently either the wife or a near relative of that prince[1], he visited the court of Eormenric, king of the Goths. Eormenric rewarded him for his poetry with a valuable bracelet, which on his return home

[1] The coincidence that Ealhhild's father bears the same name (*Eadwine*) as Alboin's father (i.e. Audoin, king of the Langobardi) has led some writers to conclude that the two must necessarily have been identical—a hypothesis which involves the reconstruction of a considerable part of the poem. The name *Eadwine* occurs again in l. 117 in the same sentence as the name *Wiþ-Myrginga*.

he gave to Eadgils (l. 90 ff.). It is clear then that Eadgils and Eormenric were contemporaries. But we know from Ammianus Marcellinus (xxxi. 3. 1) that the latter died about the year 370. Jordanes (cap. 24) says that he was a hundred and ten years old, but from another passage in the same author (cap. 22) it appears that his predecessor, Geberic, was reigning about the year 335. Consequently we can hardly go wrong in concluding that Eadgils lived about the middle of the fourth century. If our hypothesis is correct, Wermund was his contemporary, and the date of Offa's fight will therefore fall into the latter half of this century. It will be seen that this date agrees very well with the calculations obtained from the genealogies.

The nationality of Offa's opponents is a question which it is somewhat more difficult to decide. Their geographical position is pretty clearly indicated by the Danish tradition. The combat, as we have seen, is said to have taken place at Rendsburg. Again, if we are right in believing that Athislus belonged to the same nation, we may infer that their territories extended as far as the Baltic, presumably in the neighbourhood of Kiel, for the raids of this king are said to have been made by sea. We may conclude then with some probability that the territories of the nation corresponded roughly to those of the Holtsati in later times, though the latter appear to have been cut off from the Baltic by the Slavonic invasion. This however does not settle the question of nationality. Saxo in his account of the story uses the name *Saxones* throughout, but it is to be observed that with him this is a comprehensive term for all Teutonic peoples on the southern frontier of the Danes. Svend Aagesen on the other hand uses the curious name *Allemanni*. From the discrepancy between the two authors we are perhaps justified in inferring that the nationality of Offa's enemies was not clearly remembered by Danish tradition. In Widsith they are called *Myrgingas*, but this, as we have seen, may be a dynastic name. The only certainly national name, besides *Engle*, which occurs in this passage is *Swaefe*; but unfortunately it is not clear from the context (cf. p. 128) that this name refers to the king's enemies. It is possible that the Suabi (Swaefe) might have been in alliance with the Angli.

But what, I think, we may with safety infer from the passage is that the two were neighbouring tribes. Of course, so far as this goes, the Suabi may have bordered on the Angli on the north or west, as well as on the south. In a subsequent chapter however we shall see that all those tribes which were undoubtedly included among the Suebi (Suabi) in ancient times lay in or around the basin of the Elbe. It is decidedly probable therefore that the Suabi of Widsith were situated on the southern or south-western frontier of the Angli[1]. Hence there is clearly a very good case, in the light of the Danish evidence, for holding that Offa's enemies, the Myrgingas, really did belong to the Suabi.

The significance of this passage in Widsith in regard to the Suabi seems not to have been quite sufficiently appreciated by modern writers. If we admit, as I think we are bound to do in the light of the traditions given above, that the Angli came from Angel, the evidence of Widsith places the existence of a people named Suabi in the southern part of the peninsula practically beyond doubt. Now in the last chapter we saw that there are some traces of the presence of Suabi in the Netherlands. At the same time the silence of ancient writers gives us good reason for supposing that their settlement in this region did not take place before the 'migration period.' They can hardly have made their way thither except by sea, for there is no satisfactory evidence for the existence of Suebic tribes in north-west Germany. Further, since the whole coast-line as far as the mouth of the Elbe was certainly occupied by non-Suebic tribes, we may conclude with every probability that it was from the Suabi of Holstein that they were sprung. It is a little surprising of course that these Suabi should have been entirely forgotten by Danish tradition[2]. There are one or two pieces of evidence however which are, I think, worth taking

[1] Possibly a trace of their existence may be preserved in the place-name Schwabsted, on the Treene, if this name really means *Suaborum oppidum*. In that case we may probably regard it as a frontier settlement of the tribe; cf. H. Möller, *Das altenglische Volksepos*, p. 26, note.

[2] The terms *Svâfa land* and *Svâfa konungr* do occur in Old Norse (Helgakviða Hiörvarzsonar), but without precise indications as to the region to which they refer.

into consideration, though I would not attach any very great importance to them. One is the use of the name *Allemanni* in Svend Aagesen's account. The same name occurs in Saxo's account of the reign of Scioldus (p. 12). Now it is quite inconceivable that the Alamanni can ever have come into contact with the Danes in these early times. But is it not possible that the name *Alamanni* (*Allemanni*) may have been substituted for *Suabi*? For the Alamanni are sometimes called Suabi; indeed the expression *Suauorum hoc est Alamannorum* occurs in Paulus Diaconus' Historia Langobardorum (III. 18; cf. II. 15), a work with which Saxo at least was familiar. The other possibility is in regard to the king Athislus. We have suggested above that this person really belonged not to Sweden but to the Myrgingas. Is it not possible that in the native tradition he was described as *Swēþa kyning* (or *kuning*)? If so the Danes of later times might very well substitute *Svea* for a name which they did not understand[1]. Of course if we admit both these explanations we shall have to suppose that the story of Offa was preserved in more than one form; but that is only what the evidence has already led us to believe[2].

There is another passage in Widsith however which deserves more attentive consideration. We are told that Ealhhild, a princess of the Myrgingas, visited the court of Eormenric. The object of her journey is not explained, but I think we may conjecture with some probability that, like Hiltgunt in the story of Walthari, she went there as a hostage, in accordance with the custom described by Tacitus (*Germ.* 8). If so, Eadgils must have been subject to Eormenric. Now it has been suggested above (p. 114) that the North Suabi were identical with the Heruli, and we know from Jordanes (cap. 23) that the latter were conquered by Eormenric. It may perhaps be urged that these Heruli lived in the south of Russia. The presence of Heruli in this region however is attested only for a few years (in the latter part of the third century), a fact which suggests

[1] In medieval writings the confusion between the Swedes and the Suebi is not uncommon; cf. Aethelweard, I. *ad ann.* 449 and the story quoted on p. 100 (where *Sweuia* seems to mean Sweden).

[2] Cf. Saxo, p. 117: *hic* (Uffo) *a compluribus Olauus est dictus.*

that they were merely a piratical band. Again, we hear of Heruli in central Europe from the time of Attila onwards, while at the end of the fifth century they had a powerful kingdom, apparently in the basin of the Elbe. Jordanes however in another passage (cap. 3) states that the Heruli had been expelled from their territories by the Danes[1]—from which we may infer that they lived originally in the north. Their presence on the upper Elbe may therefore have been a result of their expulsion from their own territories. It is true of course that we do not know when the conflict between the Danes and the Heruli took place. Procopius clearly knew of no Herulian kingdom between the Warni and the Danes at the beginning of the sixth century. On the other hand it is difficult to believe that Jordanes was referring to an event which had taken place more than a century before his own time. But if we are right in identifying the Heruli with the North Suabi, is there any serious objection to supposing that their expulsion was due to some conflict which took place during the fifth century?

In conclusion it will not be out of place to try for a moment to form some idea as to when the Danes first settled in the district about the Eider. According to what is usually thought to be a genuine tradition[2] the original Danish kingdom con-

[1] The passage unfortunately is difficult to understand and in all probability corrupt: *Suetidi* (v. l. *suethidi*, *snediti*) *cogniti* (v. l. *cogeni*) *in hac gente reliquis corpore eminentiores quamuis et Dani ex ipsorum stirpe progressi Herulos propriis sedibus expulerunt qui inter omnes Scandzae nationes nomen sibi ob nimiam proceritatem affectant praecipuum.* It is often assumed (1) that *suethidi* is synonymous with *Suethans*, i.e. the Swedes (Svear)—although this supposition is very difficult to reconcile with the context in which the passage occurs—and consequently that the Danes were an offshoot of the Swedes; (2) that the territories from which the Heruli were expelled by the Danes were situated in the islands of the Belt or in the south of Sweden. The hypothesis that the Danes were an offshoot of the Swedes receives some support from certain passages in late Latin chronicles (Chron. Erici Regis, Langebek, *Scr. Rer. Dan.* I. p. 150; Ann. Esrom., ib. p. 223) which represent the eponymous hero Dan as coming from Sweden; but this story is not found either in Saxo or in Old Norse literature. Evidence for believing that the Heruli ever inhabited the islands or Sweden seems to be entirely wanting, for I do not see how the later migration of the Heruli, described by Procopius (*Goth.* II. 14 f.), can be regarded as justifying this view.

[2] For the references see Zeuss, *op. cit.* p. 509 f. The four islands specified do

sisted only of the islands of Sjælland, Falster, Laaland and Möen, which are said to have been known collectively as Withesleth. Further, it is commonly believed that, whatever may have been the case with Skaane, Jutland formed no part of the Danish kingdom in early times. On the other hand we have seen (p. 95) that there is evidence for South Jutland being in possession of the Danes at the beginning of the eighth century. Procopius' statement (*Goth.* II. 15) that the Heruli passed through the 'tribes of the Danes' (Δανῶν τὰ ἔθνη) before they arrived at the sea on their way to 'Thule,' points to their occupation of some parts of the peninsula at the beginning of the sixth century. The fact that Gregory of Tours (H. F. III. 3) describes Hygelac (*Chlochilaicus*) as *rex Danorum* shows at all events that their name was familiar in the West shortly after this time. Again, the use of the term *Dene* with reference to Hnaef's men in Beow. 1090 suggests at least that the Danes had some kind of footing on the peninsula, perhaps half a century before the expedition of the Heruli. On the other hand it may be argued that there is little or no evidence for the use of the Danish language in the Eider district in early times. Indeed, if we admit, as I think we must, that the Danish version of the story of Offa was derived from local tradition, it is clear that the language spoken in this district was not Danish. The best, perhaps the only explanation of these apparent discrepancies seems to be that the Danes who settled in the basin of the Eider, whether in the fifth or only in the seventh century, adopted the language of the natives[1], though at the same time without losing consciousness of their own nationality. This hypothesis will also go far towards explaining how the kings of Angel came to be regarded as kings of the Danes.

seem to have formed one of the three main divisions of the kingdom for administrative purposes. But the part of the story which relates to Dan is probably a late invention (cf. the last note).

[1] If the settlement took place as early as the fifth century it would scarcely be necessary to suppose that there was a change of language. We shall see later that there is no need for supposing the population of the eastern (Baltic) coast to have changed.

But what was the native language? At the present time the language of the southern part of the province of Slesvig is German and that of the northern part Danish, the boundary lying in the neighbourhood of Tönder and Flensborg, while Frisian is spoken on the west coast between Tönder and Husum. It is known however that within the last few centuries Danish has encroached on Frisian, and German still more on both. In the Middle Ages Danish was spoken on the east coast as far as the Eckernförde Fiord, if not beyond, while on the west coast Frisian extended at least to the Eider. The western part of Holstein was German and the eastern part Slavonic, probably as far as the Danish border. For early times however precise evidence is wanting for all the linguistic boundaries. It is commonly assumed that German is the native language of Holstein. Yet if the Saxons of Holstein (*Saxones Transalbiani*) were really Saxons, and if the Saxons originally spoke an Anglo-Frisian language, it is difficult to see how this can have been the case. Our discussion, it is true, has led us to the conclusion that they were really Suabi. But even so it does not follow that their language was German, for they occupied a more or less maritime district. Moreover the evidence of the Merseburg glosses (cf. p. 96 f.) has to be taken into account, though it may not be altogether conclusive on such a question as this. Greater importance is probably to be attached to the fact that from the time of Charlemagne onwards Holstein was exposed to strong southern influence. The advancing of the political frontier to the Eider would undoubtedly tend to promote the extension of the German language. For all that we know to the contrary it may not have been spoken beyond the mouth of the Elbe, if so far, before this time.

Now we have seen that the personal names preserved in the Danish version of the story of Offa give evidence for the existence of a non-Danish language in the southern part of the peninsula. This language however certainly resembled English or Frisian rather than German, as may be seen e.g. from the form *Wermundus*. If it was really Frisian we must of course give up the idea that North Frisian was an immigrant language. On the other hand we cannot place much confidence

in the statement quoted by Bede that the land from which the Angli came to Britain had remained uninhabited ever since—a statement which seems ultimately to be derived from a popular tradition, preserved also in the Historia Brittonum, § 38 (cf. p. 41 f.). It is true that the names which we are discussing indicate a form of language resembling Frisian rather than English. But we have seen (p. 68 ff.) that the distinctive characteristics of the English language originated apparently at a fairly late period, at all events after the invasion of Britain. Hence the language spoken in the home land may well have developed on other lines. As against this again we have to remember that, though the use of the name 'Frisian' by the inhabitants of the west coast points no doubt to a Frisian colonisation, there is yet no record of such a movement either in literature or tradition. On the whole, taking all the facts into account, viz. (1) that the Angli, and hence presumably the English language, originally came from this region, (2) that there is no evidence for the use of the German language here in early times, (3) that the personal names in the Danish story of Offa show Frisian form, (4) that an Anglo-Frisian language is spoken in the adjacent islands (cf. p. 99), where it is apparently indigenous, (5) that the Anglo-Frisian languages in their general characteristics occupy a position intermediate between the German and Scandinavian languages—it seems difficult to resist the conclusion that, however much it may have been affected by a Frisian colonisation, the North Frisian language is in the main the native language of the southern part of the peninsula, at all events on its western side.

The only linguistic evidence available for very early times is that of a few short inscriptions found in the bog deposits at Thorsbjærg and Nydam. To these we may perhaps add the golden horn discovered at Gallehus in 1734, though this place lies within the present Danish frontier. The inscription on the horn is as follows: *ek hlewagastiz holti͡ngaz horna tawiđo*, i.e. "I, Hlewagastiz Holtingaz, made the horn." There are no distinctive dialectical characteristics. The most important of the other inscriptions is one found on the chape of a sheath at Thorsbjærg: *owlƀuƀewaz | niwaj* (or *n͡g*)*emariz*. The first part

is clearly a proper name with the first two letters transposed, *Wolthuthewaz*. The second part is generally interpreted as "famous in Wangaz" or "Wajaz"[1] (presumably a place-name). But in any case the *-ā-* of *mariz* deserves notice. This sound-change (*ā* for *ē*) seems to have been a characteristic of all Suebic and Northern languages (including English) in early times, as against the western (Frankish)[2] and eastern (Gothic) branches of the Teutonic group, which retained *ē*. On the strength of this we may perhaps describe the language of the inscriptions as 'central Teutonic,' for certainly there are no characteristics which in themselves would justify us in classifying it as Scandinavian, English, Frisian or German. Indeed the form of language which they show is clearly anterior to the operation of most of the phonetic changes by which these various dialects became differentiated from one another.

The dates fixed for the deposits at Thorsbjærg and Nydam by different archaeologists vary from the third century to the first half of the fifth century, while the horn may possibly be somewhat later. Now in an earlier chapter (pp. 62 ff., 68 ff.) we came to the conclusion that most of the phonetic changes which can be traced in the northern and western Teutonic languages were probably not of any very great antiquity. In particular the characteristics which distinguish the Anglo-Frisian group[3] from both its northern and its southern neighbours seem to date mainly from the sixth and seventh centuries. As this group was essentially a maritime one and extended apparently along the whole of the coast between the present frontiers of Denmark and Belgium, we may naturally infer that its common characteristics are due to communication by sea. There is no evidence however for any serious navigation of the North Sea before

[1] For the reading see v. Grienberger, Arkiv f. nord. Filologi, XIV. 116. The same writer has elsewhere (Zeitschr. f. deutsche Philologie, XXXII. 290) proposed to read *ni wajemariR*, connecting the latter with Goth. *wajamerjan* (cf. *wailamers*).

[2] The change *ē* > *ā* did take place in Frankish, but not before the middle of the sixth century, i.e. at a time when the reverse change had already begun in the Anglo-Frisian languages (cp. p. 62).

[3] Most of the changes peculiar to Scandinavian or German are generally believed to be later than those of our group.

the last fifteen years of the third century[1], and such specific characteristics would certainly require a considerable time in which to develope. Hence we need not hesitate to believe that the language of the inscriptions was the direct ancestor of the languages spoken in the same districts in later times. Of course dialectical differences may already have been in existence; but they were probably slight and comparatively few in number. Consequently, when we come to consider the nations of the first two centuries the linguistic evidence of later times cannot be regarded as a trustworthy criterion for determining their affinities.

Before we leave the story of Offa it will not be out of place to call attention for a moment to the singular neglect with which these traditions have been treated by writers on constitutional history. It is frequently assumed that the Anglo-Saxon peoples were not subject to kingly government until after the invasion of Britain. Yet the evidence given above leaves no room for doubt that there had been kings in Angel for more than a century before the invasion. Indeed if we accept Saxo's statements, that Wermundus was an old man when his son was born and that he was himself the son of King Vigletus (Wihtlaeg), the dynasty is brought back probably to the very beginning of the fourth century. Again, we have seen (p. 15 f.) that there is some evidence for believing that a king named Icel reigned in the central part of England during the fifth century. According to the genealogy this man was the son of Eomer, who is described in Beowulf (l. 1961 ff.) in language which seems to imply that he also was a ruler. If our calculations are correct he must have been born about 420, and it would therefore be in his lifetime that the invasion of Britain took place. Of Eomer's father, Angeltheow or Angengeat, we know nothing, but his grandfather was King Offa whose career has been discussed above. The history of the dynasty can therefore be traced with few breaks from the period of contemporary documents back to the early

[1] The first reference to the western expeditions of the Saxons goes back to the year 286 (cf. p. 93). The Heruli are mentioned by Mamertinus a few years later; cf. Zeuss, *op. cit.*, p. 477 f.

part of the fourth century. The evidence for the history of the West Saxon dynasty is of a far less satisfactory character; but from what has been said it appears that this family claimed to be descended from persons who held high office under King Wermund. The relationship of these persons to the ancestors of the Bernician dynasty has already been noted[1].

We are thus forced to conclude that the prevailing notions in regard to the origin of kingship in England are without foundation. Just as the Goths and Franks were led into the provinces of the Roman Empire by kings of their own national dynasties, so we must suppose that the conquest and occupation of Britain was carried out from the beginning under the leadership of princes of the blood royal. It is true that Frowinus and Wigo are described by Saxo only as *praefecti*; but we must not infer from this that they were not of royal descent, for even in historical times we not unfrequently find such titles applied to near relatives of kings. Indeed the fact that all the English dynasties seem to have traced their descent from the gods goes to show that they claimed to have been of royal rank from the beginning. Families possessing such rank may quite possibly have been fairly numerous in ancient times. But this is a subject to which we shall have to return later.

If we are right in believing that the Jutes of Britain came, ultimately at least, from Jutland, we again have to deal with a nation which according to tradition had been governed by kings from ancient times. It will be sufficient here to mention the dynasty of Horwendillus, Fengo and Amlethus, whose history is related by Saxo (pp. 85–106). The last of them is said to have been defeated and slain by Vigletus, the father of Wermundus. According to Saxo all these kings were more or less dependent on the kings of Leire. The story, however, presents considerable difficulties, into which it is not necessary for us here to enter.

[1] Freawine was the son of Frithugar, the son of Brand (cf. p. 60).

NOTE. THE EARLY KINGS OF THE DANES.

In this chapter we have taken no account of traditions relating to strictly Danish kings, as the chronology of the events recorded in these traditions is too uncertain to afford any safe ground for inferences. It is possible however that the English traditions themselves may throw some light on Danish chronology.

In Beowulf we hear a good deal of a certain family of Danish kings, the most important members of which seem to have been Healfdene (Halfdan), his son Hrothgar (Hróarr), and Hrothwulf (Hrólfr Kraki) the nephew of Hrothgar. According to the unanimous testimony of Scandinavian tradition Hrólfr was reigning at the same time as Adils (Eadgils), who obtained the Swedish throne some time after 520 (cf. p. 18). Healfdene, the grandfather, was probably reigning about the middle of the fifth century. During the time that these kings occupied the throne the history of the Danish kingdom is comparatively well known. But both before and after the time specified the greatest obscurity prevails.

In Beowulf Healfdene is said to have been the son of a king named Beowulf, and the latter again is said to have succeeded his father Scyld. But this Scyld, to whom we shall have to return later, seems really to be a mythical person, the eponymous ancestor of the Danish royal family. Beowulf himself, whether he is to be regarded as mythical or historical, is at all events entirely unknown to Scandinavian tradition. In all forms of the latter Halfdan is represented as the son of a king named Fróði. It is conceivable of course that Fróði and Beowulf are different names for the same person. Unfortunately however Scandinavian tradition has several early Danish kings named Fróði, and the various authorities do not agree as to which of them was Halfdan's father. All that can be said with certainty is that Skiöldunga Saga was wrong in identifying him with Fróði IV, the father of Ingialldr (Ingeld).

Now in Widsith we find reference to two Danish kings, besides Hrothgar and Hrothwulf. One of them, Alewih, has already been mentioned (p. 128). The other is referred to in l. 28 : "Sigehere ruled the Sea-Danes for a very long time." The name *Sigehere* (*Sigarr*) is quite rare both in Anglo-Saxon and Old Norse literature. In Scandinavian tradition we find record of only one Danish king of this name, and it is worth noting that Saxo represents him as an old man when he was killed. His most famous act was the hanging of Hagbarðr, the lover of his daughter, Signý, an episode which is frequently alluded to in old Norse poetry and described at length by Saxo (p. 231 ff.). Most modern writers have accepted the identification of Sigehere with this Sigarr. Curiously enough however it seems to have been generally inferred

from the place which he occupies in Saxo's genealogy that he lived at a time considerably after the kings of whom we have been speaking. If true this would be a surprising fact, for we have otherwise no evidence for any knowledge in England of Danish affairs subsequent to the time of Hrólfr. Moreover it is to be remembered that for such a purpose as this Saxo's genealogy is wholly untrustworthy. He makes Wermund and Offa live considerably after Hrólfr, while on the other hand this Sigarr is made to come long before Iarmericus (i.e. the Gothic king Eormenric).

As a matter of fact Scandinavian tradition points clearly to quite a different date for Sigarr. Hagbarðr is said to have had a brother named Haki (Haco), who according to Yngl. S. 27 fought against the Swedish king Iörundr, the great-great-grandfather of Adils. Of course the genealogy of Ynglinga Saga cannot be regarded as historical beyond Óttarr, the father of Adils ; but we have no reason for believing that Iörundr really belonged to a later period. Stronger evidence is afforded by the story of Starkaðr. The Danish kings with whom this warrior is associated by Saxo are Haco, Sigarus, Frotho IV, his son Ingellus, and Olo[1]. In Old Norse literature he is associated with Haki (Yngl. S. 25), while Ingialldr is generally described in genealogies as *Starkaðar fóstri*, i.e. foster-son of Starkaðr. He is also said to have slain Áli, a Danish king reigning in Sweden (ib. 29). In Beowulf, if we may assume that he is the 'old warrior' (*eald aescwiga*) of l. 2041 ff., we find him associated with Froda and his son Ingeld, who are represented however as kings not of the Danes but of a people called Heathobeardan. It is clear moreover from Beowulf that these two kings were more or less contemporary with Hrothgar and Hrothwulf. Now Saxo (like Beowulf) represents Starkaðr as an old man in the time of Ingialldr (Ingellus). On the other hand in his last speech at the feast (*Rex Ingelle, uale*, etc.) he says that he had served Haki in his earliest youth (p. 214). This, it will be seen, agrees fully with Ynglinga Saga, which brings Haki into connection with Iörundr, while Fróði is associated with Egill, the grandson of Iörundr.

Haki is not represented by any of our authorities as actually king of the Danes but as a sea-king or *tyrannus*. According to Saxo however he overcame and slew the Danish king Sigarr in revenge for the death of his brother Hagbardr. This episode must of course have preceded the Swedish adventure in which Haki is said to have lost his life[2]. Now if Sigarr

[1] This person is clearly the Áli of Yngl. S. 29, but Saxo has confused him with another Áli (Anulo) who lived at the beginning of the ninth century. His Starcatherus also seems to be made up of two distinct characters, who must have been separated from one another by about three centuries.

[2] Yngl. S. 25, 27. Saxo mentions this expedition twice (pp. 185 f., 239), apparently without realising that he is speaking of the same episode. Indeed the sequence of events in his account of Starkaðr's career is confused throughout. In both cases he has substituted Ireland (*Hibernia, Scotthorum patria*) for Sweden. This

occupied the same throne as Hrothgar and Hrothwulf, as Saxo's account clearly indicates, it is plain from all that has been said that he must have been a predecessor of these kings. Further, since we have no valid reason for doubting that Healfdene was immediately succeeded by his sons, we may infer with the greatest probability that Sigarr preceded him also. On the other hand, if we are to believe Saxo's statement (p. 237) that Starkaðr had come into contact with Sigarr, we shall have to suppose that this king lived until about the middle of the fifth century.

Before we leave the history of Sigarr it is necessary unfortunately to touch upon the story of Sigmundr the son of Völsungr. Sigmundr and all his family are usually supposed to be either fictitious or mythical. I cannot admit that any case has been made out for the latter supposition, opposed as it is to the whole character and setting of the story. The one fact on which it is based, namely that Sigmundr (or his son Sigurdr) is said to have killed a dragon, cannot be regarded as conclusive, for similar incidents are related of other persons, e.g. St. Romain[1], whose existence there seems to be no reason for doubting. On the other hand it cannot of course be denied that Sigmundr and his family may be fictitious. But it is at all events worth noticing that some of the traditions relating to them are of great antiquity. The following points in particular deserve attention : (1) Sigmundr himself and Sinfiötli figure in two of the Edda poems (Helgakviður Hundingsbana) which are admittedly free from German influence. They contain no reference to Sigurðr, and all the action seems to lie in the southern Baltic. One of them (Helgakv. II) is generally agreed to date from the Viking Age. (2) Sigemund (Sigmundr) and Fitela (Sinfiötli) are also mentioned in Beowulf ; but again there is no reference to Sigurðr. Here the question is of course whether the episode in which they figure formed part of the old stock of traditions brought by the Angli from their home in the Jutish peninsula, or whether it was derived at a later time from German sources. There are two strong reasons, I think, for holding to the former view, namely (i) that Sigemund is represented as a maritime prince (l. 895 f.), and (ii) that he is brought into association with Heremod who is clearly regarded as a Danish prince. (3) The association between Sigemund and Heremod (Hermóðr) is found not only in Beowulf but also in Hyndlulióð 2[2], where it is stated that Othin gave a helmet and coat of mail to Hermóðr and a sword to Sigmundr (cf. Völs. S. 3). This fact distinctly suggests that the connec-

is one of the cases which show how unsafe it is to argue from references to the British Isles that a given person or event must have belonged to the Viking Age.

[1] Cf. Frazer, *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship*, p. 186 ff.

[2] Cf. Sievers, *Verhandlungen d. k. sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 1895, p. 179 f. The same connection appears again, implicitly, in Hákonarmál 14, where Hermóðr and Bragi perform the duty which in Eiriksmál is entrusted to Sigmundr and Sinfiötli. As the former poem is modelled on the latter, this fact tells decidedly against the view that the association of Hermóðr and Sigmundr is merely accidental.

tion between the two names goes back to a time at which English and Scandinavian tradition were in touch with one another, i.e. in all probability not later than the first part of the sixth century.

This being so there is at all events a case for believing the story of Sigmundr to have some foundation in fact. That no trace of either him or his son Sigurdr is to be found in contemporary literature is only what might be expected; for, with the exception of Chlodio and the legendary Faramund, we do not know the name of a single Frankish or Saxon prince of that time. The date is of course given by Sigurdr's connection with the Burgundian king Gunnarr (Gundicarius), who was reigning between 409 and 437. This, it may be observed, is just the time at which we might expect to find a fighting prince appearing both in Denmark and in the Netherlands.

Sigmundr is never represented actually as a Danish king, but he is said to have resided in Denmark and to have married a Danish princess named Borghildr (Frá dauða Sinfiötla). By her he had two sons, Helgi (Hundingsbani) and Hámundr. Now according to Saxo the father of Haki and Hagbardr was called Hámundr (Hamundus). There is nothing actually to prove that this is the same person, for the story of Sigmundr and his family is unknown to Saxo. But according to a genealogy in the Flateyiarbók, I. p. 25, Sigarr himself was the son of a certain Sigmundr, who was brother to Siggeirr, the brother in law of our Sigmundr. Sigarr and Siggeirr are mentioned together in Guðrúnarkviða II. 16. Again in Völsunga S. 25 Brynhildr speaks of Haki and Hagbardr as most famous warriors, and Gudrun replies that Sigarr has taken their sister—an incident we do not know from other sources—and that they are slow to exact vengeance. The passage therefore implies that Sigarr, Haki and Hagbardr were contemporaries of Sigurdr. These coincidences are too numerous to be accidental. The least that can be inferred from them is that Sigmundr and his family were closely associated with Sigarr and his contemporaries in Scandinavian tradition. It needs no demonstration to see that Sigmundr's date agrees well enough with that which we have obtained for Sigarr on quite different grounds.

Heremod, as we have already noticed, is represented in Beowulf as a Danish prince; but what is said of him is unfortunately far from clear[1]. He had been endowed with strength above all men, but his disposition was so savage that he slew even the members of his own household. For this reason he was eventually betrayed into the hands of his enemies and expelled; yet many regretted his departure. The references to Hermóðr in Old Norse literature are extremely obscure, and we are never informed as to the nature

[1] It seems to me somewhat hasty to conclude from Beow. 13 ff., 907 ff. and from the expression *Sceldwea Heremoding* in the West Saxon genealogy that Heremod was regarded as the predecessor of Scyld; the identification of Heremod with Saxo's Lotherus (the father of Scioldus) has been proposed (cf. Sievers, *op. cit.* p. 175 ff.), but the resemblance between the two stories does not appear to me to be very striking.

of his connection with Sigmundr. But since Borghildr, the wife of Sigmundr, is said to have been a Danish princess it is by no means impossible that Hermóðr may have been related to her.

We must now return to the king Alewih who is mentioned in Widsith. No Danish king of this name is recorded in Scandinavian tradition. Consequently, if any reminiscence of him is preserved at all, he must have been known under another name. The facts which we learn about him from Widsith are that he was an exceptionally brave warrior, and perhaps that he had an unsuccessful encounter with Offa. The translation of l. 37 is unfortunately somewhat doubtful; but we may at least infer from it that Alewih was brought into connection with Offa in some way or other.

Now it happens, as indeed we might naturally expect, that no Danish king is mentioned in connection with Offa himself in Scandinavian tradition. But there is an undoubtedly Danish king who is brought into connection with Offa's family in the genealogies, namely the eponymous Danr, surnamed the Proud (*hinn mikillláti*). This may best be seen by giving a comparative table of the various genealogies, from Svend Aagesen, Saxo and the old Langfeðgatal (Langebek, *Scr. Rer. Dan.*, I. p. 1 ff.), together with two genealogies contained in the Flateyiarbók, I. p. 26 f.

Svend Aagesen	Saxo	Langfeðgatal
Frothi hin frökni	(Vigletus)	Frode
Wermundus	Wermundus	Varmundr vitri hans sun,
Uffi (Uffo)	Uffo	Olafr litillate hans sun,
Dan	Dan	Danr mikillate.

Flat. A.	Flat. B.
Froði,	Froði
Vermundr enn vitri,	hans son Vemundr enn vitri,
Olafr enn litillati,	hans dottir Olof,
Danr enn mikillati,	hon var modir Froða ens friðsama.
Froði enn friðsami.	

Saxo says that Uffo was by some called Olauus (Olafr). Hence there is substantial agreement between the first four lists, though it is to be observed that Langfeðgatal, our oldest authority, does not say that Danr was the son of Olafr. On the other hand Danr is altogether omitted in Flat. B, while Froði *enn Friðsami* is made to be the son of a daughter of Vemundr (Wermund) named Olof. The key to this apparent discrepancy is to be found in Arngrim Jónsson's extracts from the lost Skiöldunga Saga, cap. 4, 7, where it is stated that Danus II married Olufa, the daughter of Vermundus. Taken together with Langfeðgatal this notice would seem to show that according to the earliest form of the tradition Danr was the brother-in-law and successor of Olafr (Uffo).

The account given of Dan II (*Elatus uel Superbus*) by Saxo and Svend Aagesen appears to be merely an attempt to explain his surnames. The Skiöldunga Saga however evidently contained somewhat more definite information. According to Arngrim, whose account here seems to be more of a commentary on his text than a translation, Danus II held only Jutland at the beginning of his reign, Sjælland (*Selandia*[1]) being in the hands of a king named Aleifus. Eventually however the latter was conquered by Danus. Who this Aleifus was Arngrim had not been able to find out; but the name is clearly identical with Olafr—Olauus[2]. Consequently we need scarcely hesitate to conclude that the incident in question was one of the familiar cases of strife between brothers-in-law and that the king conquered by Danr was no other than Offa.

But if so we have clearly some ground for suggesting the identity of Danr with Alewih and for regarding the story of Skiöldunga Saga as the Danish version of the incident recorded in Widsith. It is to be observed that Widsith does not say definitely that Offa conquered Alewih, and again Arngrim does not say that Danus killed Aleifus. The two accounts therefore are not wholly incompatible. The fact that the story is unknown to Saxo is not necessarily fatal to its authenticity, for we have seen that Saxo's account of Offa was derived in all probability from the neighbourhood of Rendsburg, whereas it may safely be assumed that the story in Skiöldunga Saga came from a different quarter. Moreover there is another point worth noticing. The name *Alewih* (*Alwih*) occurs in the Mercian royal family at a later time, the person so called being a nephew of Penda. This fact suggests that the Danish Alewih may have been connected with the royal house of Angel[3] and will be fully explained if he married Offa's sister.

One is naturally disposed to feel somewhat sceptical towards the suggestion that Danr was really a historical person, for there is no doubt that in Skiöldunga Saga he figured as the eponymous hero from whom Denmark derived its name[4]. But as a matter of fact it is by no means impossible that the name *Dani* (*Dene*, *Danir*) did come into use about this time. At all events we have no evidence for its existence in early times. In Roman

[1] Originally perhaps the reference was not to Sjælland (O. Norse *Selund*) but to the district which King Alfred calls Sillende (cf. p. 104 and note).

[2] Arngrim (cap. 4, 7) has two kings named Aleifus, but his language seems to imply that they were not distinguished in his text. What is said of the earlier Aleifus (*de Aleifo quidem memoratur quod nullum apparatum ab aulicis suis diuersum habere uoluit*) seems really to be an explanation of the surname *lítilláti* borne by Olafr; cf. Olrik, *Aarbøger f. nord. Oldkyndighed*, 1892, p. 114, note 1.

[3] Cf. Binz, *Beiträge*, xx. p. 169. The name does occur elsewhere, but it is of an unusual type. There is no need to doubt the identity of the names *Alewih* (*Alouuioh*) and *Alwih*. We have an exact parallel in *B(e)aduwine* and *B(e)adwine*.

[4] Cf. Arngrim, cap. 7; Yngl. S. 20. In Saxo's History the eponymous hero is Dan I. For Arngrim's Danus I it will be sufficient here to refer to Olrik, *Aarbøger f. nord. Oldkyndighed*, 1894, p. 140 f.

writings it first appears about the middle of the sixth century. Its occurrence however in Beowulf, Widsith and English personal names necessitates our placing its origin quite a century further back, and the name of the doubtless historical Healfdene points to the same conclusion. Is it quite inconceivable that it was originally a local name, perhaps that of the place from which Alewih's family were sprung? It is worth noting that Skiöldunga Saga seems not to have attempted to bring Rigr, the father of Danr, into any sort of relationship with the previous rulers of the nation. The original form of the tradition as to his ancestry is by no means clear[1]; but it may have been to the effect that he was sprung from the god Heimdallr.

If these suggestions as to the reigns of Alewih and Sigehere are to be accepted we shall be enabled to fill up a good deal of blank space in Danish chronology, for Danr, like Sigehere, is said to have lived to a great age (Yngl. S. 29). If he was a contemporary of Offa he may very well have survived until the first or second decade of the fifth century, while Sigehere's long reign can hardly have begun very much later. As to the relationship between these early kings I do not think we are in a position to form a definite opinion. All that can be said is that if Halfdan (Healfdene) was really descended from Danr there can hardly have been more than one generation (Fróði?) between them. Possibly then the Halfdanus of Skiöld. S. 9f. may be identical with the Halfdanus of ib. 7.

[1] Arngrim, l.c.; Yngl. S., l.c.; Rígsmál, Pref. and str. 48 (with Bugge's note).

CHAPTER VII.

THE AGE OF NATIONAL MIGRATIONS.

Now that we have been able to form some idea as to the situation of the home of the Angli in the centuries immediately preceding the invasion of Britain, it will be convenient to consider briefly the evidence for social and political organisation during the period in question in order that we may obtain a better understanding of the conditions under which the invasion took place. Of course it is quite impossible in such a work as the present to attempt anything like a thorough investigation of this subject. All that we can do here is, to endeavour to ascertain a few of the more distinctive features which characterised the society of the period.

For such an investigation our best guidance is clearly to be found in native poems and traditions which refer to the age of the invasion. These however may be supplemented from the far richer stock of early Scandinavian tradition; for it is clear from Beowulf and Widsith that the Angli were in intimate communication with the peoples of the Baltic. Such evidence is certainly to be preferred to the statements of Tacitus and other early Roman writers on the ancient Germani. In the first place the information furnished by the latter was obtained, not at the time of the invasion of Britain but at a period several centuries earlier. Further, it is only natural to suppose that these statements refer primarily to the Teutonic nations, on the Rhine and Danube, with which the Romans themselves came in contact. The connections of the Angli however must have lain with the maritime or more northern half of the Teutonic world, of which the Romans had little or no direct knowledge.

Anglo-Saxon Society.

It is a widely, perhaps even generally, held opinion that the form of national organisation which prevailed among the Anglo-Saxons when they invaded this country was of a kind to which the term 'political' ought not to be applied—that in this connection we should speak rather of 'tribal' organisation. By this is meant that the most potent force which held society together was not any authority of government, whether elective or hereditary, but the primary bond of blood relationship. There was indeed a supreme authority, namely the tribe itself, represented by an assembly of all free tribesmen. This gathering served in time of war as the national army (*fyrd*), while in peace it had the final voice in questions of national importance. Again, between the tribe as a whole and the village or township there existed an intermediate body, the hundred, which had both military and administrative functions. In the former case it united the fighting men of the villages in a division of the national army. In the latter it was composed of the same persons or their delegates, and served as a machine for settling such matters as were not of sufficient importance to come before the tribal assembly. These bodies however were too unwieldy for dealing effectively with the rights and wrongs of individual tribesmen. For protection the individual had to rely on his kindred, which was not a mere aggregate of persons varying from generation to generation according to marriage, but a permanent body constituted by agnatic relationship. The origin of the villages was bound up with such kindreds, and their influence locally was all important. Indeed it was by them that the invasion had been effected and the tribe itself was but an aggregate of kindreds.

This representation of Anglo-Saxon society rests upon a string of hypotheses not one of which is capable of proof. In the first place we have no evidence for a national assembly apart from the king's court. The largest division of the nation in connection with which we hear of meetings was the shire, but we have no reason for supposing that these meetings had any legislative powers, much less the right of deciding such questions as peace or war. There is no satisfactory evidence for believing that the hundred existed, as a unit of local self-government,

before the tenth century, and none at all for referring it to a time anterior to the reign of Alfred. Indeed there is nothing whatever to show that the principle of local self-government was known to the Anglo-Saxons in early times. We may assume no doubt that village communities always met together to settle matters connected with agriculture etc. But the existence of organised and responsible bodies, whether in the village or in larger districts, is a different matter, and one which it is not wise to take for granted against the silence of our authorities. Again, the duties and rights of relatives are frequently mentioned in connection with homicide; but it is clear that such duties and rights applied to cognates as well as agnates. For the kindred as a definitely organised body we have no evidence. In cases of homicide the list of persons affected would vary with each individual case. Succession to property in land may have been restricted to heirs in the male line, though the evidence for this view is only inferential and by no means conclusive. But that villages were settled and occupied by kindreds is a most uncertain inference from place-names in *-ing*, *-inga ham*, *-inga tun*, which may very well be explained otherwise. Conclusions drawn from the use of the word *maegþ* are at least equally doubtful. This word, it is true, denotes both 'kindred' and 'nation.' In the latter sense it is used to translate Bede's *provincia*, e.g. *Beornica maegþ* (*provincia Berniciorum*), *East Engla maegþ* (*provincia Orientalium Anglorum*). We may infer no doubt that the word originally conveyed the idea of blood-relationship. But we have no justification on other grounds for supposing that the Bernicians and East Anglians were distinct tribes before they invaded Britain. Two other explanations are at least equally possible. Either the word may have lost its original significance in this sense—with which we may compare the use of *gens* in Latin—or it may have denoted primarily the royal family.

We are not by any means without information regarding the system of government which prevailed among the Anglo-Saxons in early times. But it is not of national assemblies or responsible local bodies that we hear, but of kings and their officials. Every one of the Teutonic states or tribes in Britain was under kingly government. Frequently we find a number of kings in the same

state—sometimes several sub-kings under one supreme ruler, sometimes, especially in Essex, Sussex, and the Hwicce, two or more relatives reigning together, apparently on equal terms. In those states which preserved traditions, whether genuine or not, of their foundation, the institution of royalty is referred to the first settlers; in no case do we hear of a state coming into existence without a king. The king or kings seem always to have claimed descent from the original founder of the kingdom[1]. Thus we are told by Bede, H. E. v. 24, that the whole of the royal stock of Northumbria was descended from Ida. In the Chronicle it is stated of more than one king (ann. 755, 784) that his direct paternal ancestry (*ryhtfaedrencyn*) goes back to Cerdic. The Kentish royal family were collectively known as Oiscingas and the East Anglian royal family as Wuffingas, from early kings named Oisc and Wuffa respectively. So far as we know, no dynastic name was derived from an ancestor who lived before the invasion[2]. The Mercian royal family claimed descent from the kings of Angel, but the person from whom they took their collective name must have lived in the latter part of the fifth century. The probable reason for this restriction is that the ancestors whose names they bore were those from whom they derived their title to their territories, i.e. of course their territories in Britain. Members of the royal family had special wergelds, sixfold those of the higher nobility in Mercia. Again, so far as our evidence goes, they seem to have intermarried only with other royal families. But whether the various royal families of England really constituted a distinct caste we have scarcely sufficient evidence to determine. At all events they probably all claimed to be of divine descent.

The full description of the central authority in the Anglo-Saxon state appears to have been 'the king and the *þeod*.' The meaning of the latter word seems to have been somewhat mis-

[1] The only known exceptions, apart of course from foreign conquest, are Aelle (of Northumbria), Harold II and probably Ceolwulf II. It is significant that in each of these cases the kingdom practically came to an end with the usurper.

[2] The West Saxons (*Gewissi*, *Gewissae*) claimed to be descended from an ancestor named Gewis; but this name is so obviously fictitious that it need scarcely be taken into account. The same remark applies to the name *Beornic* in the Bernician genealogy.

understood by modern writers. It denotes not only 'people,' 'nation,' but also in particular the court or council of a king, as in Beowulf, ll. 644, 1231, 1251, where we find it applied to Hrothgar's court. When therefore we hear of the king and the *þeod* contracting an alliance with another kingdom (e.g. in the Chronicle, ann. 823) or of a king being slain by his own *þeod* (ib. 794), there is no reason for doubting that the body meant is the same which we find in charters confirming or supporting the king's action by their signatures. On special occasions, e.g. at religious festivals, coronations etc. we sometimes hear of the presence of a large concourse of people; but there is no evidence whatever to show that such concourses had any voice in the government. It is clear from Bede's writings that the court consisted roughly of two classes, which we may perhaps describe as 'seniors' and 'juniors' (*dugoð and geogoð*). The latter were young warriors (*milites, ministri*) in constant attendance on the king, while the former included persons of official position (earls etc.) as well as *milites emeriti* who had already been rewarded for their services with grants of land. Both classes alike no doubt consisted in part of members of the royal family, and this element may perhaps be regarded as the kernel of the *þeod*. But there is no reason for supposing that the court was limited to such persons or even to people drawn from within the king's dominions. We find it stated of popular kings like Oswine (H. E. III. 14) that young nobles were attracted to their service from every quarter.

Again, if we turn to the question of local and provincial government, we hear, even in the earliest West Saxon laws, of earls (*ealdormen*), king's thegns or barons, land-owning nobles, and especially reeves. The last word (*gerefa*) denotes both the steward of a landowner and an official in the service of the king; but there seems not to have been any difference in kind between the duties of the two classes. There is no evidence that either was controlled by or responsible to any authority except their masters. Indeed their service was so much of a personal nature that according to Ine's Laws, cap. 63, if a nobleman changed his place of abode, the reeve was one of the very few servants whom he was allowed to take with him. That the baron was likewise

bound to the king by personal service follows from the title itself (*cyninges ðegn, minister regis*), which means no more than 'king's servant'; and even the earl is sometimes described as a 'king's earl' (*cyninges ealdormon*)[1]. Indeed it appears that with the exception of the king himself every individual in the nation owed obedience to a lord. The latter was held responsible for the good behaviour of his dependents and in cases of homicide was entitled to a payment for his man (*manbot*), when the wergeld was paid to the relatives[2]. From the story of Cynewulf's death in the Chronicle (ann. 755) it would seem that the ties between lord and man equalled, if they did not exceed, those of blood-relationship[3]. Evidence to the same effect is given by Alfred's Laws, cap. 42, where an enumeration is given of the cases in which it is permissible to use violence. Our authorities give us no justification whatever for supposing that this principle of allegiance was a growth of later times. It is as prominent in the Laws of Ine (cap. 3, 21—24, 27, 39, 50, 70, 74, 76) as at any subsequent period.

Military organisation.

The military organisation of the Anglo-Saxon period deserves to be treated somewhat more in detail, especially since there is scarcely any branch of the subject on which a greater amount of misconception seems to prevail. It is commonly assumed that there were at this time two different

[1] Cf. Chron. 755, where Earl Osric is described as *his aldormon*, i.e. Cynewulf's earl. In the preface to his laws Ine speaks of 'all my earls.' So in H.E. III. 24 the Northumbrian regents in Mercia are called *principes regis non proprii*.

[2] Similarly, when a king was slain, a payment (*cynebot*) was required for his *leode* or thegns, equal in amount to the wergeld proper.

[3] Perhaps the true explanation of this phenomenon is that the bond of lord and man was considered to be equivalent to that of father and son. In Cassiodorus, *Variarum* IV. 2, we find Theodric, king of the Ostrogoths, writing to the king of the Heruli as follows: *per arma fieri posse filium grande inter gentes constat esse praeconium, quia non est dignus adoptari nisi qui fortissimus meretur agnosci.....et ideo more gentium et conditione uirili filium te praesenti munere procreamus, ut competenter per arma nascaris, qui bellicosus esse dignosceris* etc. We may compare a passage in the Chronicle, ann. 924, where it is stated that the king of the Scots and several other rulers on their submission to Edward the Elder accepted him as 'father and lord' (cf. also Beow. 1176). Possibly the use of the term *maegburg* in Beow. 2888 may be explained in a similar way; cf. the custom known as *fóstbroeðra lag* in Old Norse literature.

kinds of troops, on the one hand the *fyrd* which was composed mainly of ordinary freemen (ceorls) organised according to shires and hundreds, and on the other the personal followers of the kings, who formed a separate military class and could be called upon on occasions when it was impossible or unnecessary to summon the *fyrd*. Further, it is held that, owing to a continual deterioration in the condition of the peasantry, the *fyrd* tended to become less and less efficient with the course of time, while the professional military class was greatly extended in consequence of the Danish wars. Every five hides were now expected to supply a fully armed warrior for the king's service, and these warriors with their followers now constituted the ordinary army, the *fyrd* being only occasionally called out in later times. Now the only detailed account of a *fyrd* which we possess is that of the Essex force commanded by Earl Byrhtnoth, given in the poem on the battle of Maldon. The backbone of this force clearly consisted of a number of warriors, over twenty of whom are named, in the personal service of the earl, and who in some cases at least were men of very high birth. Indeed there is no indication that the army contained any other element than these warriors and their followers. Ninety years earlier the brief account given in the Chronicle (ann. 905 A) of the Kentish disaster at 'the Holm' at least suggests a force of similar composition. Again, in the latter part of the ninth century we frequently find such statements as that Earl Osric fought *mid Hamtunscire*; but there is no reason for supposing that these forces were different from the one led by Byrhtnoth. At all events it is clear from the Chronicle (ann. 877, 894, 895) that the *fyrd* was a mounted force in Alfred's time.

In earlier times we have very little evidence regarding military affairs[1]. Penda's army in his last battle consisted of thirty

[1] How far the armies of early times were mounted cannot be determined with certainty. It was with a mounted force that Ecgfrith subdued the Picts (Eddius 19) and it is difficult to believe that Edwin's and Penda's expeditions were carried out on foot. Procopius (*Goth.* IV. 20) speaking of a much earlier period, says that horses were unknown to the Angli; but this is doubtless a great exaggeration. So far as the statement contains any truth at all it may indicate a scarcity of horses as a result of the invasion. That riding was known to the Angli in their old home is proved by the deposits at Thorsbjærg and Nydam.

legiones[1], each under a *dux regius*, one of whom was a king of East Anglia. In Bede's account of the battle of the Trent (H. E. IV. 22) a Mercian *comes* is described as the *dominus* of certain soldiers, from which we may probably infer that the relationship between them was one of personal allegiance, as in later times. Still more important is another passage in the same chapter, which seems distinctly to imply that ceorls were not expected to take an active part in warfare[2]. This is what the later system of calling upon one man from every five hides practically amounted to; and as a matter of fact this system did not originate in the Danish wars, for we find evidence for the same principle (one man for six hides) from the very beginning of the ninth century (Cart. Sax. 201). Hence we are led to infer that the *fyrd* of the seventh and eighth centuries was really organised on very similar lines to the military forces of the tenth century. It is worth considering for a moment what number of men such a system would supply. Taking the figures of the Tribal Hidage it would give East Anglia an army of 5000 or 6000 men (according as the unit was one of six or five hides) and Sussex an army of 1200 or 1400 men. Such a scheme would have enabled Penda, who had nearly the whole of England in his hands, to put some 15000 or 20000 men into the field in addition to his Welsh allies. I cannot believe that the armies of Bede's time really exceeded these figures.

It is true of course that ceorls were liable to the duties of the *fyrd* and in the Danish wars no doubt they did fight, especially among the *burgware*, though the specific mention of them in the Chronicle, ann. 893 A[3], seems to indicate that their fighting value was not considered great. Their chief duties however, at all

[1] The constitution of these forces may perhaps be illustrated by the military regulations attributed to Harold the Fair-haired in his Saga (Heimskr.), cap. 6 (cf. Flat. I. 570). Every earl had to furnish the king's army with sixty warriors at his own expense and every *hersir* (baron) with twenty.

[2] *timuit se militem fuisse confiteri; rusticum se potius et pauperem.....et propter uictum militibus adferendum in expeditionem se cum sui similibus uenisse testatus est.* The reference is to a king's thegn who had been captured by the Mercians.

[3] It is not clear from the passage however that the people mentioned were really soldiers. They may have been workmen engaged in the construction of the fort—a suggestion for which I have to thank Mr A. Mawer.

events in earlier times, may have consisted in making roads and stockades and in carrying provisions to the actual fighters. From the Northleoda Lagu, § 10, it seems probable that in the tenth century a man who possessed five hides was generally expected to possess a sword, helmet and coat of mail. Evidence to the same effect is given by the regulations for heriots; that of the lower class of thegn is stated to be his horse, with its saddle, etc., and his weapons or, as an equivalent, 120 shillings. As the horse was reckoned at only twenty-four shillings the weapons must have been of considerable value[1]. A passage in Ine's Laws, cap. 54, shows that the possession of swords and coats of mail was not at all unusual even in the seventh century. But it must not be assumed that the warrior sent by every five or six hides was necessarily a landowner to this extent, i.e. a man of the *twelfhynde* class (cf. p. 77). Between the ceorlish and *twelfhynde* classes there was another, the *sixhynde* class, which may have been very numerous in the seventh century, especially on royal lands. It is likely enough that their equipment was as a rule much inferior to that of the *twelfhynde* class. But, however this may be, we need scarcely doubt that the two classes between them were sufficient to provide the requisite numbers.

The origin of the erroneous explanation of the *fyrd* is probably to be found in the fact that many writers have not adequately realised the existence of classes intermediate between the ceorl and the king's thegn. The latter doubtless were a comparatively small class[2], and it is very probable that not only the

[1] There is no evidence, so far as I know, as to the value of arms in England except in Ine 54, where the sword and coat of mail together appear to be reckoned at 60 (or 40) sh. In the Lex Rib. 36 the figures are as follows: horse 12 sol. (apparently gold solidi throughout), sword (with sheath?) 7 sol., coat of mail 12 sol., helmet 6 sol., shield and spear 2 sol. As the ox in the same passage is reckoned at 2 sol., the whole equipment of the warrior, apart from greaves, will be equivalent to about 20 oxen. In Wessex 120 sh., the amount of the heriot we are discussing, was also the equivalent of 20 oxen. For the use of greaves in England there seems to be little or no evidence, though the word (*bangeberg*) occurs in glossaries.

[2] So far as I know, we have no means of forming an estimate. Bede, when speaking of the thegns (*milites*) who accompanied the sons of Aethelfrith in their exile, uses the expression *magna nobilium iuuentus* (H. E. III. 1, 3). I suspect however that we ought to reckon in scores rather than in hundreds. Hnaef appears to have had sixty thegns with him (Finn 40). For the retinues of the kings of

young men at court but also those senior thegns who had married and received grants of land, but were not actually reeves, did serve as a special bodyguard to the king, distinct from the general mass of the *fyrd*. But this is only an additional argument for believing that in the latter also each man followed his own lord, whether the latter was a king's reeve or not.

Social conditions of the migration period.

Our present concern however is not with the social and military organisation of the seventh century but with that which prevailed at the time of the invasion of Britain. The period during which this invasion took place is generally known as the age of national migrations, not of course because all Teutonic peoples were constantly changing their habitations, but because such migratory movements were more frequent than usual at that time. It is well to note at the outset that we have no right to assume that the social organisation of the period was essentially due to migratory conditions. The fashion of speaking of the nations of this time as undisciplined and leaderless hordes which wandered about at random, seeking new habitations, is mainly due to exclusive attention being paid to Roman sources of information. As a matter of fact several Teutonic nations did not change their abode at all, though they may have sent out expeditions from time to time and perhaps enlarged their territories. The number of nations whose migratory movements can be described as in any way continuous is in reality quite small.

It is unfortunate that in English works on constitutional history little account has generally been taken of the evidence afforded by native tradition as to the social and political organisation of the northern peoples during the age in which the invasion of Britain took place. Yet the Anglo-Saxon poems contain a good deal of information on this subject, and what they say is fully borne out both by Scandinavian tradition and by notices in the works of the few Roman writers who were really interested in the study of Teutonic society. One point which comes out with sufficient clearness is that kingly government was almost universal. Such

Norway cf. Saga Olafs kyrra, cap. 4 (Heimskr.). The number kept by King Olafr Kyrri (1067—1093), two hundred and forty in all, was considered excessive.

was the case with the Angli, Warni, Heruli, the Jutes, 'Frisians, and Danes, and probably all the communities of the Scandinavian peninsula. No doubt the kingdoms were often small, and very frequently there was a plurality of kings. Yet the fact remains that, with the possible exception of the Old Saxons, all the Teutonic peoples of the northern coasts were or had been governed by members of certain definite royal families.

Beside the king we find mention also of the *þeod*; but the evidence at our disposal does not justify the supposition that this differed in any way from the councils or courts of Anglo-Saxon kings. To national assemblies we have no reference at all. Even in such a great national emergency as the defeat and death of the king, when we might naturally expect to hear of such a gathering, it is the queen who is represented as offering to hand over the government and the treasury to a relative of the late ruler (Beow. 2369 ff.). Again, when King Hygelac grants Beowulf what may be regarded as a large earldom (7000 hides), we hear nothing of any form of election; but the grant, it should be observed, is accompanied by the presentation of a sword—a fact which seems clearly to imply that the recipient is to be responsible to the king. As regards the composition of the court we find both young warriors and veterans (*geogoð and dugoð*) as in Britain. It has been supposed[1] that the retinues of this period were drawn from a higher class than those of later times; but this requires to be proved. So far as I can see, there is no reason for believing Hrothgar's thegns, such as Wulfgar, Hunferth and Aeschere, to have been persons of a different position from Edwin's thegns Lilla and Forthhere. There is no doubt that they were often drawn from beyond the king's territories. This however is a question to which we shall have to return later.

It has been mentioned above that according to the generally accepted view the most potent influence in early Teutonic society was that exercised by the kindred, and it is doubtless true that for homicide within the kindred no compensation appears to have been exacted. Indeed in many laws the slayer seems to be

[1] Cf. Guilhiermoz, *Essai sur l'Origine de la Noblesse*, p. 87.

liable to none but spiritual penalties[1]. Now it is surely clear that for such a system as this to be the most potent influence in society we must postulate the existence of some force which would render the shedding of kindred blood a practical impossibility. Yet as a matter of fact the slaying of relatives seems to have been by no means an uncommon occurrence. In the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms of the seventh century we find quite a number of cases of princes who took up arms against their relatives, sometimes with fatal results, or had to fly from their homes in order to save their own lives[2]. The theory that the sanctity of the bonds of kindred had been dissolved by the influence of Christianity is scarcely an adequate explanation of these facts; at all events it will not hold good for such a case as the slaying of Eowa by his brother Penda.

If we turn to the Scandinavian kingdoms we find the same phenomenon ages before Christianity was known in those parts. The descendants of Yngvifreyr in particular seem to have borne as bad a character as the house of Pelops in regard to the shedding of kindred blood. Brothers are slain by brothers (Yngl. S. 23, 24) and in one case a father by his sons (ib. 17)[3]. Even in Beowulf we find two cases in this family. In one a nephew meets with his death in a struggle against his uncle; in the second the same uncle is slain by another nephew. It is true that in the former case the slaying was not done by the uncle's own hand. Yet he is said to have entertained no thought of vengeance and even to have granted to the slayer the spoils of his victim. The slayings recorded in Ynglinga Saga are all said to have been perpetrated by the relatives with their own hands. They may perhaps be regarded as mythical; but the existence of the legends is evidence that such occurrences were not unknown.

Perhaps it may be urged that the history of the Swedish royal family is exceptional, since they had had the curse of kindred bloodshed (*aettvíg*) laid upon them by the sorceress Huldr

[1] Cf. Seebohm, *Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law*, pp. 164 f., 176, 241 f., 335 f. But it is to be observed that vengeance on an uncle is not unknown (e.g. Saxo, pp. 96, 218).

[2] Cf. Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, II. 15, 20, III. 14, 18, 22, IV. 26.

[3] Cases of sacrifice are left out of account. In cap. 29 King Aun is said to have sacrificed nine of his sons.

(Yngl. S. 17). The Danish royal house appears in a more favourable light in Beowulf. But it is very probable that the Hiörvarðr, through whose treacherous attack Hrólfr lost his life, was no other than Heoroweard, his cousin, whether he was also his brother-in-law or not. Moreover it has been suggested[1] with much probability that the Roricus whom Hrólfr himself slew (Saxo, p. 62) was another of his cousins, Hrethric the son of Hrothgar. Elsewhere Saxo has a number of cases of this kind in connection with the Danish royal family (pp. 51, 217 f., 279, 301, 316), while in the time of Ívarr Víðfadmi instances are recorded by several Norse authorities (Yngl. S. 43, Skiöldunga S. 2 etc.). Again Saxo's account of the Jutish kings Horwendillus, Fengo and Amlethus gives two cases, and further examples occur in all versions of the story of Eormenric. Moreover such cases are not confined to royal families. According to Beow. 587 f., 1167 f. Hunferth, a prominent member of the Danish court, had slain his own brothers. This deed was a reproach to him, but did not prevent him from being a trusted servant of King Hrothgar.

In the light of this evidence I think we are justified in doubting whether the sanctity attaching to blood-relationship—except perhaps as between parent and child—was quite so great as modern writers affirm it to have been. Family strife was doubtless regarded with disapproval. The repugnance to shedding the blood of a relative with one's own hand was especially strong, as may be seen from the story of Cynewulf's death and Procopius' account of the euthanasia practised by the Heruli[2]. Yet from the examples given above this repugnance can hardly have been so great as to justify us in regarding the sanctity of blood-relationship as the dominant principle in society. It is very seldom that we hear of supernatural agencies interfering to avenge the shedding of kindred blood. The only case known to me is in Saxo, p. 246, and it is perhaps not without significance that the slaying here avenged is that of a uterine brother.

Examples of kings or other lords who were slain by their

[1] Cf. Olrik, *Danmarks Helte-Digtning*, p. 28 ff.

[2] Goth. II. 14: ξυγγενῆ γὰρ αὐτῷ (the man who is to be killed) τὸν φονέα εἶναι οὐ θέμις.

personal followers are much less frequent. In Beowulf we do not find a single case; for the story of Heremod can hardly be interpreted in this way. In Ynglinga Saga no native kings perish at the hands of their own men except two who are sacrificed. In other sagas and even in Saxo[1] examples are difficult to find. It is in this respect indeed that early Teutonic records show the strongest contrast both to Roman and medieval history. The follower of a Teutonic king was expected to fight till death in defence of his lord. When Cynewulf had been slain by Cyneheard the king's men unanimously refused the terms offered them by the latter and fought until all were killed except a British hostage who was badly wounded. The same scene was repeated when Earl Osric arrived with a superior force. Out of all Cyneheard's band one man, a godson of the earl and himself severely wounded, was the sole survivor. There is no reason to doubt that the same principle prevailed in earlier times. According to Hrólfs Saga Kraka, cap. 52, the whole of Hrólfr's retinue perished when that king was slain. In Saxo's account one man alone saved himself, but he did so in order to avenge his lord. When Beowulf was killed by the dragon his followers are upbraided in the most bitter language for having failed to come to his rescue, and it is declared that their careers have been irretrievably ruined by their cowardice. In earlier times it was according to Tacitus (*Germ.* 14) regarded as an everlasting disgrace that a *comes* should take to flight even when his lord had fallen. Certainly it seems to have been considered improper that he should come to terms with those who had slain him—a fact which comes out with especial clearness in the story of Cynewulf's death. In Beowulf, for some unexplained reason, the conduct of Hengest and his companions in coming to terms with Finn after Hnaef's death receives no censure. Yet the stipulation made by Hengest, that the Frisians should not taunt them with their behaviour, speaks for itself, and as a matter of fact Hnaef's death was subsequently avenged.

If our statement of the case is not exaggerated it is clear that there cannot have been any more potent force in the society

[1] Pp. 11, 184 (Gautreks S. 7), 265 (Yngl. S. 29). The two latter cases refer to Starkaðr.

of the time than the relationship of lord and man. This being so it is worth while to examine the mutual obligations of the two parties somewhat more closely. We have seen that the follower was expected to fight till death on behalf of his lord and to refuse to come to terms with his enemy. If the lord was driven into exile his men were expected to follow him. Thus, when Aethelfrith's sons fled before Edwin (H. E. III. 1), their exile was shared by a large number of young nobles. Again, when Chonodomarius king of the Alamanni was captured by the Romans in the year 357, his *comites* to the number of two hundred voluntarily gave themselves up in order to share his captivity (Amm. Marc. XVI. 12. 60). We may probably assume also that in general the thegn was supposed to place his services at his lord's disposal. A considerable part of his time seems to have been spent in his lord's company; he shared his hearth and joined him in hunting and other amusements (cf. Bede, H. E. III. 14), while the evenings were spent largely in feasting and drinking. We hear also of music and recitation (Beow. 89 ff., 496 f., 1064 ff., 2108 ff. etc.; Wids. 103 ff., 135 ff.; Deor 35 ff.), and those members of the court who were poets seem to have received liberal rewards for their services. The life of the German *comites* in Tacitus' day appears to have been of a somewhat similar type, though doubtless on a much less elaborate scale. Indeed we find in Beowulf (ll. 358 f., 613 ff., 921 ff. etc.) evidence for quite a considerable amount of court etiquette. But in addition to the services of daily life it appears that much at least of the wealth which the knights acquired by exploits and expeditions of their own was expected to be given up by them to their lords. Thus Widsith gives up to his lord, Eadgils, prince of the Myrgingas, the gold ring which had been presented to him by Eormenric. Beowulf had received most valuable gifts from King Hrothgar and his queen, from the former a golden standard, a helmet, sword and coat of mail, from the latter a costly necklace set with precious stones. All these he gave up to King Hygelac and his wife when he returned home. Another of the same king's knights slew the Swedish king Ongentheow and took from him his coat of mail, sword and helmet, all of which he presented to his lord. It was only as a gift from King Onela

that Weohstan received the spoils of Eanmund whom he himself had slain.

On the other hand the lord also was expected to give treasure to his men. It is for generosity even more than martial prowess that kings are famed, as for example Eormenric, Guthhere (Gundicarius) and Aelfwine (Alboin) in Widsith[1]. The standing epithets of a king in poetry are words which signify 'giver of treasure,' e.g. *sincgifa*, *beaggifa*, *goldgifa*, *sinces brytta*, *beaga brytta*, *goldwine*. In addition to bracelets and other ornaments we find mention of weapons and armour, especially swords, helmets and coats of mail (Beow. 2868). It seems to have been customary for a man to receive a sword from his lord when he entered his service[2] and also when he was promoted to some higher office. For the former case we may compare the story of Hiartuarus and Viggo in Saxo (p. 67); for the latter a good instance has already been cited, viz. Beow. 2191 ff., where Beowulf is granted a viceroyalty or earldom. At death it would seem to have been the custom for some of these arms to be returned to the giver as in Beow. 452 ff., where the hero asks King Hrothgar to send his coat of mail to Hygelac, if the conflict on which he was about to embark should prove fatal to him. There can be little doubt that the rules for heriots which we find prevailing in later times were an outgrowth, or more properly a regulation, of this practice.

But beyond all this the lord was expected to provide his follower with an endowment in land when he reached a certain age. In Bede's time it must have been customary for the sons of the nobles to enter the service of the king, or other members of the royal family, at quite an early age; for the endowment in

[1] For the last of these cases cf. Paulus Diaconus, *Hist. Lang.* I. 27.

[2] Cf. Haralds Saga hins hárfagra (Heimskr.), cap. 41, where Harold's acceptance of a sword sent by Aethelstan is interpreted as an admission of vassalage. Still more important is another passage in the same saga (cap. 8), which describes the submission of Hrollaugr, king of Namdalen. Harold girds him with a sword and shield and appoints him to be earl over the district which he had formerly ruled as king. We may compare Cassiodorus, *Var.* IV. 2 (the continuation of the passage quoted on p. 158, note), where Theodric, after adopting the king of the Heruli as his 'son,' states that he is presenting him with *equos*, *enses*, *clypeos et reliqua instrumenta bellorum*.

land was granted to them when they were about twenty-four or twenty-five years old, and enabled them to marry[1]. A similar state of things seems to have prevailed in the age to which the poems refer. Widsith says that he gave the bracelet which he had received from Eormenric to his lord Eadgils 'in requital of his kindness because he had given me land, even my father's estate.' Deor complains that the domain (*londriht*) which the king had once given him has now been taken away and transferred to a rival poet. Beowulf's knights are told (l. 2885 ff.) that in consequence of their cowardice their families will be deprived of all the honours and rewards of court life and all the pleasures of landed property. Scandinavian authorities give evidence to the same effect. Saxo says that Biarco had been rewarded by Roluo (Hrólfr Kraki) with *bis senae gentes* (p. 64), while Ericus receives a *centurionatus* from Frotho (p. 144). Sometimes these grants were on a large scale. Eofor, who had slain the Swedish king Ongentheow, was rewarded by Hygelac with his daughter's hand and with an incalculable quantity (*hund þusenda*) of land and treasure (Beow. 2990 ff.). Beowulf on his return from his exploits in Denmark receives from the same king a grant of seven thousand hides—the normal size of a large province in England during the eighth century—together with a dwelling and princely authority (ib. l. 2196 f.).

In one of the examples quoted above the land granted is said to have been formerly in the possession of the grantee's father. A similar case occurs in Beowulf (l. 2607 ff.), where Wiglaf is said to have been presented by the king with the dwelling place of their family (*wicstede Waegmundinga*) together with every public right in the same way as they had been enjoyed by his father. It is to be observed that these estates are described not as though they had passed from father to son in due course of inheritance, but as grants received as a mark of favour from the king. Whether there were at this time any lands which were heritable in ordinary course is a question that we have no means of deciding. In later times there is a certain amount of evidence which suggests that tenure of land for three generations

[1] Hist. Abbatum, §§ 1, 8; Ep. ad Ecgb., § 11.

may have constituted a claim to permanent possession[1]. But even if so we cannot tell how far such a custom goes back.

Certainly it deserves to be noted how in Anglo-Saxon poetry the man who has lost his lord is represented as a homeless exile. A good example occurs in The Wanderer, l. 19 ff.: "Thus homeless and often miserable, far from my kinsmen, I have had to bind my heart in fetters ever since the grave closed over my patrons[2]—since I wandered away destitute over the sea amid wintry gloom seeking in my grief the dwelling of some prince, if far or near I could meet with one who would have regard to me in his hall or console me in my friendlessness and treat me kindly. He who experiences it knows what a cruel companion anxiety is to one who has no kind guardians. He is confronted not with gold rings but with homeless wanderings, not with the good things of the earth but with his own chilled breast. He calls to mind the men of the court and the treasure he used to receive, and how in his youth he was continually feasted by his patron. All his happiness has passed away." Then the poet goes on to describe how with these sorrowful reflections sleep comes over him and he dreams that he is again greeting his old master, embracing him and kissing him and laying his head and hands on his knee as in former days. Then he wakes again and realises his forlorn state, as he gazes out on the wintry sea. We may compare Beow. 3019 ff., where it is declared that when the king's death becomes known, slaughter and exile will be the fate of his followers.

Such passages as these seem to show not only that continued possession of land depended on the goodwill of the lord who had granted it, but also that on the latter's death all security was at an end. Evidence to the same effect is supplied by the fact that after the adoption of Christianity new kings were in the habit of reissuing the grants of their predecessors to churches. But, if this view is correct, have we any reason for supposing that such an expression as *wicstede Waegmundinga* means anything more than the dwelling place which Waegmund and descendants of

[1] Cf. Seebohm, *op. cit.*, p. 525.

[2] Most editors emend *mine* to *minne* (sing.), 'my patron.'

his had as a matter of fact occupied—without reference to the terms of their occupation?

It may perhaps be suggested that the poems deal only with one phase of society, namely with the life of the courtier; that the bulk of the nation was but little influenced by the court, and that the national life went on independently of the rise and fall of princes. It is possible of course that there were landowners, perhaps even wealthy landowners, who did not hold their estates as grants from kings or their officials, though, as I have said above, this is a subject on which we are entirely without evidence. We find such persons described as *höldar* and *boendr* in Norway during the ninth century, many of whom like Thorolfr of Mostr in Eyrbyggia Saga seem to have been men of considerable affluence; but it is by no means certain that their ancestors had not been royal officials. Indeed it is scarcely impossible that some of them, especially the boendr of the Throndhjem fiord, may have been of royal descent themselves. At a time when the population of this fiord contained eight kings royal rank must have been fairly common. Similarly we may note that persons belonging to at least eight different families which claimed royal or divine ancestry succeeded in establishing kingdoms in Britain; and it is hardly probable that these were the only families of the kind which took part in the invasion. This observation leads us to infer that royal families were comparatively numerous also in the land of the Angli and the surrounding regions. Evidence to the same effect is given by the not inconsiderable number of persons recorded in Widsith as ruling over peoples or tribes which we do not know from other sources. It is probable that all such families had lands of their own, like the *lond Brondinga* mentioned in Beow. 521; but we must not conclude from this that they were necessarily independent. Hnaef, one of the princes mentioned in Widsith's catalogue, was according to Beow. 1069 a subject of the Danish king Healfdene. In such cases it is likely enough that the right of succeeding to the family estates was determined by the overlord. The Waegmundingas may quite possibly have been a family in the same position.

What I cannot admit however is that in the total absence of

evidence we have any right to assume the existence of a national organisation, independent of the king and his officials and retainers. We hear nothing of a national assembly[1] apart from the king's court and nothing of a national army apart from the king's knights and their retainers. Doubtless it was customary for large gatherings to take place for religious purposes; but we have no evidence that such gatherings had any voice in the government or in the appointment of kings or officials. If the king was overthrown, unless some member of the family contrived in one way or another to retrieve its fortunes, the national organisation was liable to perish altogether. Such was the case with the Rugii in 488 and with the Thuringi in 531. Occasionally we find a victorious king keeping the territories of a conquered dynasty as a separate province for some member of his own family, as in the case of Kent or Deira. But such arrangements were generally of short duration. As a rule we may say that in early times the life of a nation hung together with that of its native dynasty. If the latter was overthrown the nation as a nation ceased to exist[2]. Therefore, if we ask how it was that the Wanderer had no home to which he could retire and live as a private person, the true answer seems to be that not only his court office but his property and security too were gone with his lord's death.

It fully accords with this absence of national organisation that we find but little trace of any feeling of patriotism as we understand it. The knights of the period seem to have been ready enough to enter the service of foreign princes who were rich and generous. When the Wanderer expresses a desire to find far or near someone who will have regard to him in his hall and treat him kindly, we may of course ascribe his eagerness to the distressing circumstances in which he was placed. But Beowulf's cowardly knights are told that even distant princes

[1] Rembertus (Vita Anscharii, cap. 23 f.) speaks of a national assembly in Sweden; but, as will be seen later, we must not assume the conditions of the ninth century to have prevailed from the beginning even there.

[2] The case of the Swedes (Svear) is a noteworthy exception, if we may trust the story given in Yngl. S. 44 f. But this may have been due largely to the religious importance of Upsala.

will learn of their disgrace so that they will not again be able to obtain service however far they go. Again Beowulf, as we have seen, had a relative, perhaps a cousin, named Wiglaf, who was in his service when he was king of the Götar. But Wiglaf's father, Weoxtan had been in the service of the Swedish King Onela and had slain Eanmund who was under the protection of Heardred, king of the Götar. If Weoxtan was really of Götish nationality, as seems to be implied by l. 2607 f. (cf. l. 2814 f.), he must have been fighting against his own country, according to our ideas, in this campaign. We have no reason for supposing that such conduct was exceptional. Indeed it could come about in this way that a father and son might be in opposite camps, as in the German story of Hildibrand and Hadubrand. So late as the seventh century the retinues of kings do not seem to have been drawn exclusively from among their own subjects, for, as we have already seen, Bede says that King Oswine's popularity was so great that the noblest youths entered his service from nearly every kingdom in Britain. It would even seem that persons who had been given up to a foreign king as hostages were expected to devote themselves in his service. Mention has already been made of a British hostage who was severely wounded in the fight that followed Cynewulf's death. So Waldhere, who had been given up to Attila in his childhood, gained great renown as a warrior in the service of that king, though eventually he stole away. We may also compare the story of the god Niörðr and his children, which is surely founded on conditions prevailing in human society.

It is true that Tacitus attributes feelings of patriotism to the Germans of his day and even puts sentiments of this kind in the mouth of German speakers. But it must not be assumed in such a case as this that the same ideas prevailed in the migration period as in the time of Tacitus. As a matter of fact however there is some reason for suspecting that Tacitus may have exaggerated the patriotism of the Germans. Large numbers of them had entered the Roman service even in his own age, and as time went on these numbers tended continually to increase. Moreover these mercenaries were drawn by no means exclusively from tribes which were under Roman suzerainty. Their influence

on later Roman history was very great. Persons of Teutonic nationality, like Arbogastis, Stilico and Ricimer, succeeded in obtaining high office in the Roman government; Odoacer transferred his command into an independent kingdom, while allied or subject kings, such as Alaric and Alboin, alienated large portions of Roman territory. The reception of Hengest and Horsa by King Wyrtgeorn is a very similar case. In later times we find analogies in the Scandinavian princes who entered the service of Slavonic kings.

The migration from 'Scandza.'

Indeed it can scarcely be doubted that this phenomenon was of no little importance in the movements of the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries. There is one class of legends in particular which hardly admits of any other interpretation, namely those which trace the origin of certain nations, the Goths and Gepidae, the Burgundians, Langobardi and Suebi, to migrations from Scandinavia[1]. It has rightly been objected against these legends that Sweden is not a country which can have produced such enormous populations. Moreover we find most of the said nations settled in the basins of the Vistula, Oder or Elbe by the beginning of the Christian era. Yet the existence of the legends requires explanation. It seems to me that the difficulty largely disappears if we may suppose that only a small but dominant element in the population was of Scandinavian origin. We may note that the people who followed Ibor and Aio were at first called not Langobardi but Winili. This name cannot be traced elsewhere; but is it not possible that it may have been that of a Scandinavian tribe or family? Again, the Goths or a portion of them are sometimes called Greuthungi (*Grutungi*, *Trutungi*) by early writers. Ammianus Marcellinus (XXXI. 3. 1), indeed seems to apply this name to the people under the immediate rule of Eormenric. But one of the Scandinavian tribes mentioned by Jordanes (cap. 3) is called Greotingi[2], which can hardly be a different name. We need not suppose that the introduction of this Scandinavian element among Continental nations was always effected by

[1] Cf. Jordanes, cap. 1, 4, 17; Vita S. Sigismundi; Origo Gentis Langobardorum, § 1; Paulus Diaconus, *Hist. Lang.*, I. 1. For the Suebi see p. 100.

[2] Similar forms occur as place-names in later times.

conquest. In the eighth and ninth centuries Vestfold and other parts of Norway were in the hands of the Ynglingar, who claimed descent from the ancient kings of Sweden. Yet hardly any of the territories owned by this family had been acquired by conquest. Vestfold itself and several other districts had come into their hands through marriage.

But we are not entirely dependent on analogy for our explanation of these legends. Several Scandinavian traditions refer to similar events. According to Völsunga Saga, cap. 1, the origin of the kingdom of the Völsungar was as follows. A certain prince named Sigi was banished on account of manslaughter. Accompanied by a retinue he departed from the North and settled in Hunaland (Germany), where he married into an influential family and eventually became a great king. So in Hervarar Saga ok Heiðreks Konungs, cap. 8 ff., a Norwegian prince named Heiðrekr escapes from his father's home, after slaying his brother, and joins a band of pirates with whom he acquires great renown for his bravery. He eventually comes to Reiðgotaland[1] and finds that the king, Haraldr, has to pay tribute to two earls who have ravaged his territories. He conquers the earls and receives the hand of the king's daughter together with half the kingdom as a reward. Subsequently, in a time of famine he attacks and offers up the king and his son as a sacrifice to Othin and thus obtains possession of the whole kingdom. We are reminded of the story of Telamon and Peleus and many similar incidents in the Homeric age.

In sagas dealing with early times the leaders of such expeditions seem usually if not always to have been persons of royal birth. At a time when royal families were plentiful and their territories consequently small this is only what might be expected. Indeed it is not until the latter part of the ninth century that we find persons of humbler origin, such as Askold and Rollo (Gönguhrólfr) leading powerful expeditions and

[1] In this saga Reiðgotaland seems to mean the land of the Hrethgotan (on the Vistula). It is conterminous with Hunaland (cap. 17), and both are said to have been parts of Germany (cap. 20). Cf. Schütte, *Ark. f. nord. Filol.* XXI. p. 37 f. Elsewhere however the name is applied to Jutland.

forming settlements on their own account. In earlier times when such persons had to fly their country they would presumably try, like the Wanderer, to obtain the protection of some foreign prince.

Stories of this kind are not confined to Scandinavian literature. Beowulf's father, Ecgtheow, had slain a prince named Heatholaf belonging to a powerful family, the Wylfingas, who threatened reprisals against the Götar. He therefore had to leave his country and betook himself to Hrothgar, king of the Danes, who was able to effect a satisfactory settlement of the vendetta. A still more interesting example occurs in another Anglo-Saxon poem generally known as the 'Husband's Message.' A prince who has had to leave his home in consequence of a blood-feud sends to his wife a staff inscribed with Runic letters. The messenger exhorts her, as soon as the spring is sufficiently advanced for travelling, to take ship and sail southwards over the sea to join her husband in his new home. He has now overcome all his troubles and has horses and treasure in abundance, all the pleasures of the banqueting hall and possessions such as befit a man of his rank. The only thing needed to complete his happiness is that his wife should join him in accordance with the vows which they made together in days gone by. We need scarcely doubt that the course of action here taken by the husband was of frequent occurrence during the migration period.

Invasions of the Roman Empire.

Of course I do not mean to suggest that the movements of this period were confined to small bodies of adventurers. It is undeniable that national migrations on a large scale did take place. Indeed between the fourth and the sixth centuries the territories of the continental Teutonic nations, both individually and collectively, underwent immense changes. Large tracts of country which had formerly been Roman now became Teutonic, and almost equally large tracts which had been Teutonic now became Slavonic. In short there was a general movement towards the south and west. But I doubt very much whether these migrations were as a rule so continuous as is commonly stated.

The reasons usually given for such movements are the growing weakness of the Roman Empire and the pressure of population in Germany[1] which impelled the tribes of that country to be constantly seeking wider and more fertile territories. But if it is true, as I have tried to show, that the more northern tribes had in general no national organisation except as the subjects of kings or kingly families and that their fighting forces were no national militia in the ordinary sense, but bodies of chosen warriors attracted largely from other districts by the renown and generosity of the kings, the second of these reasons cannot be entirely correct. Again it is not only in the neighbourhood of the Roman frontiers that we hear of great national conflicts. Indeed those nations which penetrated first and farthest into the Roman Empire, the Goths, Vandals, Suebi and Burgundians, were not those which had been neighbours of the Romans from the beginning. It would seem then that the impulse to these movements came largely from behind[2].

Turning to individual cases we may note that when the Franks invaded the Roman provinces on the lower Rhine in the fourth century we are expressly told that they had been expelled from their own territories by the Saxons. Similarly, it was perhaps partly to avoid the Visigoths that the Vandals crossed over into Africa. The Hunnish invasion brought about a number of movements of this kind, among the most important being that of the Visigoths into Moesia and that of the Burgundians into Gaul. The last mentioned tribe must have undertaken a considerable migration before this time; but if we may trust a tradition recorded by Jordanes, cap. 17, it is very likely that this earlier movement was occasioned by an onslaught of the Gepidae. It is true no doubt that the Visigoths, and perhaps also the Langobardi at a later period, were in a state of more or less continuous migration for a considerable number of years. But these cases are probably due to exceptional circumstances—that of the Visigoths to the fact that they had

[1] Cf. Paul. Diac., *Hist. Lang.*, I. 1 f. It is likely enough that migrations were sometimes occasioned by famine; cf. Procopius, *Vand.*, I. 3, 22.

[2] Cf. Capitolinus, *M. Anton. Philos.*, cap. 14: *Victoualis et Marcomannis cuncta turbantibus, aliis etiam gentibus, quae pulsae a superioribus barbaris fugerant, nisi reciperentur bellum inferentibus.* The reference is to the time of the Marcomannic war.

been expelled from their own territories by the Huns—and we are in no way justified in regarding this restlessness as representing the normal condition of Teutonic nations during the period which we are discussing. Even the Burgundians in the interval between their two migrations had a fixed frontier with the Alamanni[1].

As for the nations to pressure from which these migrations were due, some probably, like the Huns and Avars, were of a truly migratory character. Others however seem to have been striving not to change but to extend their territories. The Frankish movement which forced the Visigoths to give up the south of Gaul cannot fairly be described as a migration, and there is no reason why we should assume that the attack of the Gepidae on the Burgundians was of a different character. If we turn back to an earlier period, we see that the Romans were too ready to attribute migratory habits to Teutonic tribes. Genuine migrations no doubt there were, such as that of the Marcomanni into Bohemia. From the fact that in Tacitus' time the Chauci were conterminous with the Chatti we may conclude that the movement of the Angriuarii into the territories of the Bructeri was a genuine migration; but this may have been due to the growing power of the Chauci. The Usipetes and Tencteri were endeavouring in Caesar's time to migrate into Gaul owing to pressure from the Suebi, but it is very doubtful if we are justified in regarding the latter as migratory, in spite of Strabo's statements (p. 290 f.). The fact that the Semnones possessed a sanctuary of immemorial antiquity is surely evidence that, though they may have enlarged their territories, they had not actually changed them for a considerable period.

It may perhaps be argued that this extension of territories is itself evidence for the natural and spontaneous expansion of tribes. But the evidence at our disposal scarcely bears this out; it points rather to the ambition of kings as the determining cause. Theodberht in his letter to Justinian (cf. p. 97 f.) prides himself on the subjugation of the Thuringi, the conquest of their territories and the extinction of the native dynasty. So in Beowulf, l. 4 ff., it is stated that Scyld deprived many dynasties

[1] Cf. Amm. Marc. XVIII. 2. 15.

of their palaces and compelled all his neighbours to submit to him and pay him tribute. It is perhaps not sufficiently recognised how great was the extent of the power of some kings during the migration period. The influence of Theodric the Ostrogoth reached from Italy apparently both to the Aestii in the eastern Baltic and to the Warni on the North Sea. Attila appears to have had all the peoples of central Europe in subjection to him. Still more important for us is the case of Eormenric. We are told by Jordanes, cap. 23, that he had conquered the Aestii and a number of tribes which apparently lived in eastern Germany and southern Russia. In Widsith we find a princess of the Myrgingas journeying to his court, and we have suggested above (p. 138), that she went thither as a hostage. Tacitus (*Germ.* 8) states that it was customary to demand girls of noble birth as hostages, and similarly in Waltharius, l. 93 ff., we find Hiltgunt as a hostage at the court of Attila. But the Myrgingas, as we have seen, were neighbours of the Angli. The kingdom of the Heruli, which was likewise overthrown by Eormenric, may have been situated in the same direction (cf. p. 139). Consequently we can hardly avoid concluding that the influence of this king extended from the Black Sea to the southern part of the Jutish peninsula. Yet this is not so surprising when we recall the case of Maroboduus at a much earlier period. Since the Langobardi are represented as revolting from him, his authority must at least have reached from the Roman frontier on the Danube to near the mouth of the Elbe.

Of course in many cases the supremacy wielded by these kings amounted to nothing more than suzerainty. Tribute was exacted and hostages taken from the subject nation. For the rest however it continued to be governed by kings of its own royal line. Such appears to have been the condition of the Langobardi under the Heruli, while in the time of Eormenric doubtless many nations were in the same position. The relations of distant nations with Theodric were probably of a still looser description. They seem to have been rather in the nature of an alliance strengthened by the giving and receiving of presents on both sides. But in other cases, where resistance was offered, the subjection was of a much more severe character. Sometimes

we find the national dynasty destroyed as when the Thuringi were conquered by the Frankish Theodric or the Rugii by Odoacer; and we may infer with probability that the rest of the population did not escape without considerable injury. Parallels are even to be found for Ceadwalla's treatment of the Isle of Wight; for Tacitus speaks of the slaughter and enslaving of whole nations, as in the cases of the Amsiuarii and the Bructeri (*Ann.* XIII. 56, *Germ.* 33). It is intelligible therefore that when the kings of a nation threatened by a powerful enemy had determined on migration, few even of the poorest of their subjects would have any desire to stay behind.

With regard to the motives entertained by the kings of dominant nations our authorities give little support to the idea that their aggressions were prompted by any solicitude for the future expansion of the peoples they governed. So far as we can trace the origin of these struggles, they appear to have arisen out of military ambition, desire for the acquisition of wealth or personal grievances. The war between the Langobardi and the Gepidae seems to have been due to the fact that each king was harbouring a claimant to the other's throne. According to Paulus Diaconus (*Hist. Lang.*, I. 20) the cause of the war between the Heruli and the Langobardi was that the brother of the king of the former had been murdered by a Langobardic princess. Procopius tells a different story, to which we shall have to refer shortly. The struggle between the Franks and the Thuringi is said to have been brought about by an insult offered by Irminfrith to the Frankish king Theodric. The invasion of the land of the Warni by the Angli—the only Continental expedition which we know of as undertaken by this nation after its settlement in Britain—was due according to Procopius (*Goth.* IV. 20), a contemporary authority, to a breach of promise to the English king's sister. Again we are reminded of Homer. The expedition which Agamemnon gathered together from all Greece is said to have been due not to any irresistible impulse towards expansion on the part of the Greeks, but to the king's desire to exact vengeance for the abduction of his brother's wife.

The military followers of the kings were doubtless ready to embark on war on any pretext, since they had everything to gain

thereby. Beowulf, even before he becomes king, promises that if Hrothgar is attacked he will bring thousands of warriors to his assistance (l. 1826 ff.). According to Procopius (ib. II. 14) the war between the Heruli and the Langobardi was due solely to the followers of the king of the former, who were unable to tolerate a condition of peace for more than three years. There can be no doubt that successful campaigns had considerable effect on the conquering nation. With the acquisition of wealth, i.e. cattle, slaves, treasure and especially arms, the king and his knights were able to keep larger retinues. Thus the proportion of warriors tended continually to increase, while the cultivation of the land was left more and more to subject populations. Such may have been the case with the Goths and Franks and perhaps to a certain extent also with those tribes, presumably in western Germany, from whom Tacitus derived his general impressions on the characteristics of German society. But above all this condition of things must have prevailed among the Angli, unless the evidence of our early authorities on English society is entirely misleading.

The invasion of Britain.

The invasion of Britain appears to have been one of the exceptional cases of migrations on a large scale which were not due to external pressure. At all events we have no evidence of such pressure, for the westward movement of the Slavs does not seem to have actually reached Angel, while English tradition contains little or no trace of hostility to the Danes[1]. But the migration of the Angli is really exceptional in more than one respect. It is apparently the only case of a very large migration across the open sea; for the Vandals only crossed the Straits of Gibraltar. The distance covered by the Old Saxons, between the coast of Slesvig and the districts about the Weser, was also considerably less, while the settlements effected by the Suebi and Saxons in the Netherlands and northern France seem to have been comparatively insignificant. Again, it appears to have differed from other migratory movements, except perhaps those of the Saxons, by having extended over a considerable space of time. This cannot indeed actually be proved, but besides being intrinsically probable it is stated in all

[1] Except perhaps in Widsith, l. 37 (cf. p. 150 f.); but here the reference is to an earlier period.

the accounts which we have of the invasion, whether from Welsh or English sources.

But it must not be assumed that because the invasion probably extended over a considerable time the process really consisted of a long series of independent movements. However heterogeneous the invaders may have been at the beginning there is no semblance of probability in the supposition that each kingdom owed its existence to the migration of a separate tribe. We have seen that the royal family of Wessex claimed descent from certain persons who were in the service of King Wermund, the ancestor of the Mercian royal family. These persons again were nearly related to the ancestors of the Bernician royal family. Rather we must look for the origin of the various kingdoms in bodies of warriors attached to certain families—at first probably to individual princes—most of whom had taken part in the invasion in the following of others and had only later established their independence. Considering the great extent of country occupied by the invaders it is likely enough that the first century after the invasion was a period of disintegration.

To illustrate this it will be convenient to notice one or two cases individually. That the Mercian kingdom, which was originally situated in the upper part of the basin of the Trent, was due to an independent invasion is clearly contrary to all probability. Indeed, if we take into account (1) that a British kingdom of Elmet, presumably in the south-west of Yorkshire, existed until the seventh century, and (2) that according to the Saxon Chronicle the districts to the west of the Chilterns were British until the latter part of the sixth century—a story which we have no valid reason for doubting—it is extremely improbable that the Trent valley came into English hands much earlier. So far as I know, it has never been doubted that the region of the Hwicce was acquired by a movement from districts farther to the east, which were already in English hands. The chronicle states that it was first conquered by the West Saxons, in which case the Hwiccian kingdom must have arisen through a subsequent division or secession. Is there any reason for supposing that the Mercian kingdom had a different origin[1]? Again, we

[1] The presumption is that it was acquired by a movement from Middle Anglia. As

should naturally expect East Anglia to have been one of the first districts to be occupied by the invaders. But according to a note in the Historia Brittonum, § 59, its first king was Wehha (Guechan), the great-grandfather of Redwald, who is not likely to have lived in the time of the invasion. We do not know the source of this note, but the authority of §§ 57—65 is generally good. May not East Anglia have broken away from a larger kingdom, presumably at some time during the first half of the sixth century? With somewhat greater confidence we may conjecture that the Bernician kingdom arose out of a movement from more southern districts, presumably Deira. All our authorities agree in attributing its foundation to Ida, whose traditional date is 547. At such a time the idea of a fresh invasion from over the sea is highly improbable and indeed is not suggested by any early writer.

The character of the invasion in its initial stages may perhaps most reasonably be conjectured from the analogy of the Danish invasion which took place some four centuries later. After a series of piratical and plundering expeditions, which lasted for the greater part of a century, a large Danish army arrived in the year 866. It was apparently under the command of the sons of Lothbrok, who according to Scandinavian tradition had undertaken the expedition in order to avenge their father's death. In the course of the next few years we hear of not less than six kings besides a number of earls (*eorlas*) and barons (*holdas*). There can be no doubt therefore that the invasion was carried out by a powerful and organised military force. We do not know exactly what territories were in the hands of Lothbrok's sons at this time, but it is difficult to believe that the whole army can have been drawn from within their dominions. As long as the sons of Lothbrok remained in command they carried all before them. But when they had all died or returned home the organisation of the invaders broke up at once into two or more independent sections, which were subsequently reduced in detail by the English.

there is no evidence for a separate dynasty in the latter, the two kingdoms may have arisen out of a division between members of the same family.

It is likely enough that in its initial stages the invasion of the Angli followed a very similar course. The successes of Hengest and the booty which he had acquired may have tempted princes of the royal house of Angel to undertake an expedition to Britain at a very early date. At all events I cannot believe that the invasion was effected without large and more or less organised forces. Further, it seems scarcely credible that these forces can have been drawn entirely from within the territories of the Angli. Indeed it has often been remarked that the whole of the modern province of Slesvig can hardly have produced sufficient fighting men to effect the conquest of Britain. But from what has been pointed out above with regard to the constitution of the military forces of those times we need not hesitate to believe that warriors were attracted to the adventure from all the surrounding regions—just as in later times William of Normandy was accompanied by knights from Brittany, Flanders and elsewhere. Quite possibly even the families which eventually succeeded in establishing kingdoms may not all have been of English blood. The Angli however doubtless formed the chief element in the invasion, while the alien elements were not sufficiently strong individually to maintain themselves as distinct from the rest of the population. The greater success obtained by the invaders as compared with the Danes in later times was largely due no doubt to the absence of opposition so resolute as that offered by King Alfred; but their own organisation also may not have fallen to pieces so quickly. The later history of the two invasions was doubtless very different. The Danes, failing to maintain themselves in a position of ascendancy, seem not to have had their numbers recruited very largely from their own country. On the other hand we may well believe that the Angli, as soon as they had secured a firm footing in Britain, attracted a considerable proportion of their unwarlike population by promises of land and cattle. Again there is no reason for supposing that the treatment of the natives in the later invasion was on the whole anything like so ruthless as it is said to have been in the former. Gildas uses language which implies that, in some districts at least, almost the whole population was exterminated, and I do not

think that what we know of the wars of this time justifies us in doubting his statements.

We may conclude then, I think, that the exceptional features noted above in connection with the migration of the Angli are capable of explanation and that they in no way compel us to assume a different organisation of society from what we find represented in the poems. If we could recover the history of the invasion I have no doubt that instead of leaderless hordes united only by bonds of consanguinity we should find military organisations similar to those which we see in the great Danish invasion. The fact that so large a proportion of the population took part in it, including apparently much of the unwarlike as well as the military element, may be satisfactorily explained on the hypothesis that the invasion extended over a considerable period; and we have reason at all events for believing that communication with the Baltic lands did not cease until well into the sixth century (cf. p. 18 f.). It is hardly necessary however to suppose that the whole population migrated, for the story that Angel was thenceforth a desert may very well be one of those cases of exaggeration to which popular tradition is prone. All that can be said with certainty is that the Angli of the Continent soon disappeared as a distinct nation.

In the course of this chapter we have been considering the social and political conditions of the migration period chiefly from the evidence of native traditions and poems. This evidence has led us to conclude that the most potent influence in society during the period in question was that of the military classes, the kings and the officers or knights who were personally attached to them. The bond between lord and man equalled, if it did not exceed, in sanctity that of blood-relationship, deeply rooted as the latter doubtless was in popular feeling. Further, in the absence of evidence we are led to infer that the peasants had little or no power in the government of the nation. In military affairs this is still more marked. If the peasants took part in actual fighting at all their influence was almost negligible. The issue practically depended on the kings and their knights and, as in the Homeric poems, battles were often decided by the

prowess of an individual. All this evidence points to a fairly deep cleavage between the upper and lower strata of society.

It remains for us now to notice briefly one or two objections which may be brought against this representation of the social conditions of the period. In the first place it may perhaps be argued that the evidence of the native authorities is not entirely trustworthy. The MSS. of the Anglo-Saxon poems which we possess date only from the tenth and eleventh centuries and, though there is no doubt that these are copies of earlier texts, it is not likely that they were committed to writing much before the eighth century. The literary form, whether Latin or vernacular, in which the Scandinavian traditions are preserved is admittedly much later. Consequently, though the antiquity of the traditions themselves cannot be gainsaid, it may be thought that the form in which they have come down to us has been coloured by later ideas. Again, it is highly probable that the poems were composed and recited in court circles. Hence there may have been a tendency to ignore or belittle the influence of the commons. Lastly the corroborative testimony, which we find in the works of certain Roman writers, especially Procopius, may really hold good only for nations, such as the Franks and Goths, which had lived for a considerable time in the neighbourhood of the Romans, and consequently had come under the influence of southern civilisation.

Archaeological evidence.

I think that there are sufficiently weighty reasons for rejecting the contention that the representation of social life given in the Anglo-Saxon poems has been appreciably affected by later ideas. It is true of course that in the form in which we have them these poems have received a Christian colouring. But, to take a single point, the descriptions of funeral ceremonies given in Beowulf can hardly be explained otherwise than by a verbal tradition coming down from heathen times, presumably, though not perhaps necessarily, in metrical form. Into such questions however it is scarcely necessary for us here to enter. For dealing with the objections put forward above as a whole we can hardly have any safer criterion than the evidence of archaeology. The poems, as we have seen above, speak of a profusion of wealth and treasure in

the kings' courts, a fact which if true must indicate the existence of immense social differences. Again they represent the warriors as armed with swords and iron-bound shields, helmets, often gilded, and costly coats of mail. If this is true we can well understand how it was that battles could be decided by the prowess of a comparatively small number of warriors, and that the crowds which followed unprotected and with inferior weapons would have little influence on the result of the contest. On the other hand if we do not find any costly or artistic treasures, if the only weapons which come to light are bows and arrows, clubs and javelins, we shall have to conclude that the evidence of the poems is untrustworthy and that any attempt to reconstruct from them the social life of the period is doomed to failure.

As a matter of fact the archaeological evidence is quite conclusive. On the western coasts of the Baltic a number of deposits have been found, to which we have already had occasion to refer and which are universally believed to date from between the third and sixth centuries. The richest of them are those discovered at Vi and Kragehul in Fyen, Thorsbjærg in Angel, and Nydam which lies somewhat farther north. The Thorsbjærg deposit, which is one of the earliest and specially important for us from its geographical position, contained helmets, fragments of coats of mail and remains of spears, swords and shields, together with numerous other articles, including gold and silver ornaments. Perhaps the most remarkable thing found was a silver helmet and visor, partly gilded. The other deposits were of a similar character. At Nydam there were found 106 swords and 552 spears. At Vi one coat of mail which was preserved intact contained about 20,000 rings and according to Prof. S. Müller must have taken a single workman nearly a whole year to make. Many of the swords were skilfully ornamented. The blades were engraved with artistic patterns, as recorded in Beowulf, and the wooden hilts were encased in bronze, silver or ivory. The sheaths also were of elegant workmanship.

The evidence of these deposits then fully bears out the statements of the poems. So numerous were the articles found that it is possible to reconstruct from them with certainty the

whole dress and equipment of the warrior of those days. If we compare the representation thus obtained with the equipment of ancient Greek warriors as described by Homer and as depicted on vases and other objects of the geometrical period, the comparison will scarcely be found disadvantageous to the former. In certain respects no doubt the Homeric civilisation was superior, notably in the art of working stone; but it is at least a question whether the Homeric princes had not taken over their buildings from an earlier population. In other respects the advantage lies as clearly with the northern warriors. The Homeric poems contain scarcely any reference to writing. In the North on the other hand it was widely known (cf. Beow. 1696); inscribed articles were found in all the large deposits mentioned above. Again, the art of riding, which is seldom mentioned by Homer, appears to have been general among these northern warriors, spurs, bridles and other articles of riding gear being of frequent occurrence. In regard to artistic skill the shields of Amlethus and Hildigerus, as described by Saxo (pp. 100 f., 244), must at least have equalled the shield of Achilles; and though some scepticism is doubtless legitimate in regard to the former, yet at all events the golden horns found at Gallehus show what northern artificers were capable of at this period. As an example of technique we may also compare the bronze car and horse recently discovered at Trundholm[1], though this is usually attributed to a much earlier date. Taking the whole evidence into account we are not, I think, in any way justified in regarding the civilisation of the migration period as either rude or primitive. The condition of the peasantry no doubt differed considerably from that of the princely families, but this seems to have been the case also among the ancient Greeks.

The intellectual development of the times is much more difficult, if not altogether impossible, to determine. The very favourable impression produced by the character of King Hrothgar in Beowulf must not be ascribed entirely to Christian influence in the poet, for in Scandinavian tradition Hrólfr Kraki

[1] Cf. S. Müller, *Urgeschichte Europas* (Germ. Transl.), p. 116 f.

and even Hróarr (Hrothgar) himself bear a similar character. Moreover the conduct of King Aethelberht from the very beginning betrays a mind of much the same type. The sentiments attributed by Bede to heathen kings and nobles, such as Penda and the nobleman at Edwin's court, show a toleration and receptivity which we should hardly have expected, but which fully accord with the fact that, so far as we know, no missionaries lost their lives in the conversion of England. How far the same type of character prevailed in earlier times it is of course impossible to say. A quite opposite type, that of the warrior like Starkaðr, who is wholly given up to war and adventure, comes before us prominently in Scandinavian traditions. Moreover we can hardly doubt that Woden, the god who gives victory and treasure and who rewards his votaries with a future life spent in fighting and feasting, was the deity par excellence of the migration period—especially among the Angli, whose princes claimed to be descended from him. Indeed so closely does the cult, as represented in Scandinavian traditions, appear to reflect the conditions of that age that it is at least a question whether it was not in part responsible for them. On the other hand the same spirit of adventure seems often to have been bound up with a desire for the knowledge of distant nations and kings. At all events it seems clear from Widsith, as from the Saga af Nornagesti in later times, that anyone who had travelled widely and observed the characteristics of the various leading men whom he had met with, might expect to interest his hearers. Some of the stories told by Procopius and acquired by him presumably from Teutonic soldiers in the Roman service even tend to show a somewhat careful study of peculiarities of national custom, such as we find exemplified by King Alfred and others in later times.

In its material aspect the civilisation of the migration period had without doubt been greatly affected by foreign influence. This influence was partly, but by no means entirely, Roman. If we take the case of armour we may note that one Roman helmet was found at Thorsbjærg, while the visor of a second is said to have been formed after a Roman model. But the crested helmets described in Beowulf were clearly of a different type

and resembled those worn by the Cimbri according to Plutarch (*Marius* 25). The coats of mail found at Thorsbjærg and Vi are said to have been of Roman workmanship[1], but I have not been able to ascertain on what grounds this statement is based. Such armour does not seem to have been particularly common among the Romans, whereas Diodorus (v. 30) speaks of *θώρακας σιδηροῦς ἁλυσιδωτούς* as a characteristic feature of the Gauls. Six shield-bosses of Roman form were found at Thorsbjærg, but sixteen others were of quite a different type. The shields themselves are said to have been entirely un-Roman. Again, the spears found in the deposits attain the length of eleven feet, which far exceeds that of the Roman pilum. A number of Roman swords have been found, but the long sword of the 'late Celtic' type was far commoner. On the whole then it would seem that in regard to military equipment these warriors had very much more in common with the Gauls than with the Romans.

In religion nothing like the cult of Woden-Othin has, so far as I am aware, ever been traced in southern Europe. Similar beliefs and practices however are known to have prevailed among the Gauls. The court-life again, as described in the poems, has no resemblance to Roman custom; but it is by no means unlike the life of the Gaulish nobility as depicted by Diodorus, v. 27 ff. Hence the fact that the representation of the social system given by our earliest authorities corresponds very closely to Caesar's account of Gaulish society is not without significance. It is true of course that the Gauls were not under kingly government. We have evidence however for the former existence of such government in several tribes, e.g. the Bituriges, the Aruerni, the Carnutes, the Senones and the Sequani[2]; in the last two cases indeed it lasted until shortly before Caesar's conquest. But in other respects the secular organisation of the nation, with its *equites* and *clientes*, closely resembles what we find in the Anglo-Saxon poems; and unless the evidence of our authorities is very misleading Caesar's

[1] Engelhardt, *Denmark in the Early Iron Age*, p. 46.

[2] Cf. Livy v. 34, Valerius Maximus IX. 6. 3, Caesar, *Gall.* I. 3, V. 25, 54, etc. Some of the Belgae were still governed by kings in Caesar's time.

remarks on the condition of the Gaulish commons will likewise hold good for the northern Teutonic peoples of the migration period.

Resemblances between Celtic and Teutonic civilisation are of course capable of more than one explanation—either as the common inheritance of kindred peoples or as the product of direct influence from one nation upon the other. The former explanation is no doubt partly true; but it is obviously inapplicable to several of the cases noticed above. The origin of the coat of mail may be open to question, but this is scarcely the case in regard to the long sword. Consequently I see no improbability in supposing that religious ideas and social customs may have been influenced from the same quarter. It is to be observed that Celtic influence did not come to an end with the Roman conquest. Several of the long swords found at Nydam bear inscriptions in Roman letters; but the names themselves are not Roman. Presumably therefore either they or swords from which they are copied had come from districts which had passed under Roman government. Indeed it seems to me a question whether archaeologists have not been too ready in speaking of Roman influence on the northern peoples during the early part of the migration period—whether it would not be more correct to describe the foreign influence throughout as Celtic with a constantly growing Roman element. We have at all events no historical evidence for direct contact with the Romans before the appearance of the Saxons in the west, towards the end of the third century; and the Saxons themselves appear to have been content with mere piratical raids for a long time. The employment of Heruli in the Roman service during the latter part of the fourth century may have been of greater importance. But there seems to be little evidence, whether from language, tradition or institutions, to show that Roman influence had had any appreciable effect on our nation before the conquest of Britain.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SAXONS AND ANGLES IN ROMAN TIMES.

In an earlier chapter we saw (p. 54) that according to Bede the invaders of Britain belonged to three different nations, namely the Saxons, the Angli and the Iutae. Those of the invaders who were called Saxons were sprung from the Old Saxons, a nation which in the seventh and eighth centuries extended from the Rhine to Holstein and which is found in the neighbourhood of the former as early as the middle of the fourth century (p. 90 ff.). The Angli came from a country called Angulus, a name with which the corrupt *Oghgul* of the Historia Brittonum seems to be identical. The evidence of later writers, King Alfred in his translation of Orosius and Aethelweard in his chronicle, leaves no room for doubt that they believed this country to be the district now called Angel, though the name may then have been applied to a larger area. The home of the Iutae is not directly specified by Bede or by any subsequent writer; but the statement that Angulus was situated between the Saxons and the Iutae seems distinctly to point to Jutland. Continental writings from the third century onwards afford no evidence worth consideration which conflicts with these views.

In a later chapter (p. 118 ff.) we examined certain traditions which refer to two persons named Wermund and Offa, ancestors of the Mercian royal family, and we saw that according to Widsith the latter ruled over Angel. In the course of our discussion also we noticed that these persons are clearly identical with two kings named Wermundus and Uffo who are mentioned in Danish traditions. The latter are described

by the Danish historians as kings of the Danes, but the events related in connection with them seem all to have taken place in the southern half of the Jutish peninsula, viz. at Jællinge, Slesvig and Rendsburg. The evidence of these traditions therefore harmonises fully with the views held by ancient English writers as to the home of the nation before the invasion of Britain.

We have now to consider the evidence of certain writings on the geography of northern Europe which date from a much earlier period, namely the first two centuries of the Christian era. Of these the most important is the Geography of Ptolemy, which is said to have been composed about the middle of the second century. It is believed however to have been based on a lost work by Marinus written about half a century earlier. In this work both the Saxons and the Angli (Σουήβοι Ἀγγειλοί) are mentioned; but the geographical position of the two tribes relatively to one another is exactly the reverse of what Bede's evidence would lead us to expect. The former are represented as occupying the 'neck of the Cimbric peninsula' together with three islands near the mouth of the Elbe, though considerably to the north. The latter on the other hand are located to the west of the Elbe in a district which was certainly for the most part occupied by the Saxons in later times.

It will be convenient here to give in full the passages which bear on these questions (Geogr. II. 11, § 8 ff.): "Those parts of Germany which lie along the Rhine, beginning from the north, are occupied by the Little Bousakteroi and the Sygambroi. Below them are the Soueboi Langobardoi, then the Tenktroi and the Ineriones between the Rhine and the Abnobean mountains.... The coastland above the Bousakteroi is occupied by the Phrisioi as far as the river Amisia (Ems). After them are the Little Kauchoi as far as the river Ouisourgios (Weser), and then the Greater Kauchoi as far as the river Albis (Elbe). Next come the Saxones upon the neck of the Cimbric peninsula. The peninsula itself, above the Saxones, is occupied, from west to east, by the Sigoulones, then the Sabalingioi, then the Kobandoi. Above these are the Chaloi, and above them again the Phoundousioi towards the west and the Charoudes towards the east; while farthest to the north of all are the Kimbroi.

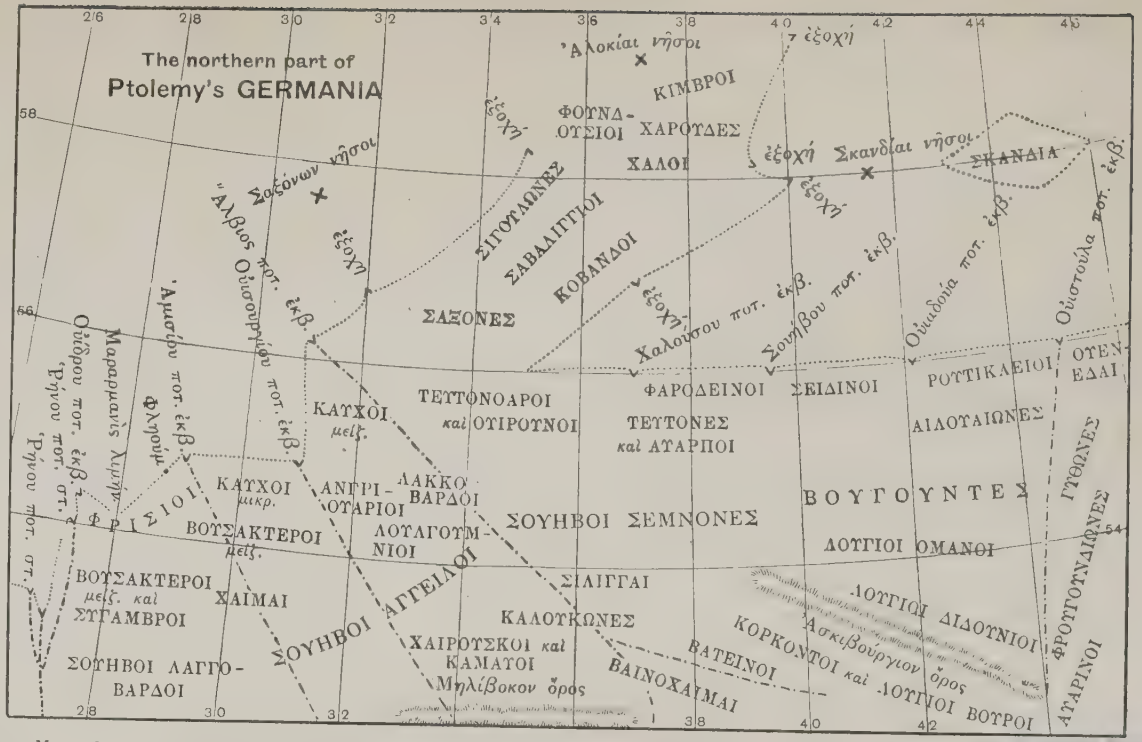
After the Saxones, from the river Chalousos to the river Souebos, come the Pharodeinoi, then the Seidinoi to the river Ouiadouas (Oder), and after them the Rhoutikleioi to the river Ouistoulas (Vistula).

"Of the interior or inland tribes the following are the greatest: the Soueboi Angeiloi, who lie to the east of the Langobardoi, stretching northwards to the middle of the Elbe, the Soueboi Semnones, who extend from the Elbe at the point specified eastwards to the river Souebos, and the Bougountes who occupy the regions beyond as far as the river Vistula.

"In the intervening districts there are smaller tribes. Between the Little Kauchoi and the Soueboi lie the Greater Bousakteroi, and below them the Chaimai. Between the Kauchoi and the Soueboi lie the Angriouarioi, then the Lakkobardoi, and below them the Loulgoumnioi. Between the Saxones and the Soueboi lie the Teutonoaroi and the Ouirounoi; between the Pharodeinoi and the Soueboi lie the Teutones and the Auarpoi; and between the Rhoutikleioi and the Bougountes lie the Ailouaiones.

"Again, below the Semnones live the Silingai, and below the Bougountes the Lougioi Omanoi, and below these the Lougioi Didounioi as far as Mount Askibourgion. Below the Silingai live the Kaloukones on both sides of the river Elbe and below them the Chairouskoi and the Kamauoi as far as Mount Melibokon. To the east of these, about the Elbe, are, the Bainochaimai.... Again to the east of the Abnobean mountains live the Kasouarioi below the Soueboi...."

(§ 31) "Above Germany there are situated a number of islands. Near the mouth of the Elbe there are three called the Islands of the Saxones. The central point of these falls in long. 31, lat. 57·40′. And above the Cimbric peninsula there are three other islands, called Alokiai, the central point of which falls in long. 37, lat. 59·20′. Again, to the east of the peninsula there are four islands which are called Skandiai. Three of them are small, the central one of which lies in long. 41·30′, lat. 58; but the fourth is larger than the others and farther to the east, opposite the mouth of the river Vistula ..... and the name Skandia is specially applied to this island."



X under the names of groups of islands indicates in each case the centre of the group. The north coast of the Cimbric peninsula cannot be reconstructed with certainty owing to corruptions in the MSS.

If we compare the more western part of Ptolemy's map with the list of tribes given by Tacitus in that part of his work (*Germ.* 32–36) which refers to the same districts, we shall see that in spite of scribal corruptions the majority of the names seem to be identical in the two works. The following identifications may be regarded as practically certain:

Tencteri = Tenktroi	Angriuarii = Angriouarioi
Bructeri = Bousakteroi	Chamaui = Kamauoi
Frisii = Phrisioi	Cherusci = Chairouskoi
Chauci = Kauchoi	Chasuarii = Kasuarioi
Dulgibini = Loulgoumnioi	

Tacitus makes no distinction between 'Little' and 'Greater' in the case of his Bructeri and Chauci, nor does he so precisely indicate the geographical position of his tribes. On the whole however, if we observe the direction which he follows in his account, the indications given seem not to vary greatly in any of the above cases—except perhaps in that of the Chamaui[1]—from the localities assigned by Ptolemy. Tacitus' list adds one name, that of the Fosi, a tribe in the immediate neighbourhood of the Cherusci, to those given by Ptolemy. On the other hand he has no names corresponding to the Ineriones (Nikriones?), Sygambroi[2] and Chaimai.

The names Angli and Langobardi are mentioned by Tacitus (ib. 40), though unfortunately he makes no attempt to fix the geographical position of these tribes. It is to be observed however (1) that they are classed among the Suebi and (2) that they are mentioned not in connection with the series of names given above but after the Semnones.

Apart from these two passages in Tacitus and Ptolemy the name *Angli* does not occur in ancient writings. On the other hand there are several other references to the Langobardi, though they are nowhere else represented as living in the neighbourhood of the Rhine. According to Strabo (p. 290),

[1] Tacitus (cap. 33) only says that the Chamaui, together with the Angriuarii, had recently occupied the territories of the Bructeri. But in *Ann.* XIII. 55 they are said to have formerly lived in a district far distant from that assigned to them by Ptolemy.

[2] The Sugambri seem to have ceased to exist as an independent tribe before the time of Tacitus; cf. Bremer in Paul's Grundriss², III. p. 884.

who seems to have been writing about the year 18 A.D., they dwelt in his time to the east of the Elbe, having fled over that river from fear of the Romans. They are mentioned again by Velleius Paterculus (II. 106), who had himself served under Tiberius in Germany. He states that in the campaign of A.D. 4 the Romans had conquered and received the submission of the Canninefates, Attuarii (Chattuarii[1]), Bructeri and Cherusci, and had penetrated beyond the Weser. In the following year, under the leadership of Tiberius, they conquered nations whose names even had hardly been known to the Romans before. The names which he gives are Cauchi, Langobardi, Semnones and Hermunduri. Immediately after relating the defeat of the Langobardi he mentions the arrival of the Romans, both by land and sea, at the Elbe, which he describes as flowing past the frontiers of the Semnones and Hermunduri. The Langobardi are mentioned again by Tacitus himself in two passages of his Annals. In the first (II. 45 ff.) they are said to have belonged, together with the Semnones, to the kingdom of Maroboduus, king of the Marcomanni, but to have deserted him and joined the Cherusci in their war against that king. In the second passage (XI. 17) they are represented as interfering in the dynastic struggles of the Cherusci.

From a comparison of these passages it is clear that the home of the Langobardi must be sought in the lower part of the basin of the Elbe and in the neighbourhood of the Chauci, Cherusci and Semnones. Now we have seen that in this district Ptolemy places a tribe called Lakkobardoi, which can hardly be anything but a corrupt form of the same name[2]. Are we to suppose then that there were two tribes of this name, or possibly two branches of the same tribe, one on the Elbe and the other on the east bank of the Rhine? This is hardly probable. The districts immediately to the east of the Rhine were well known to the Romans and had frequently been traversed by them in their campaigns against the Chatti; yet

[1] The Canninefates and Chattuarii seem to have inhabited the parts of Holland which lie immediately to the north of the Rhine.

[2] The name may very well survive in the modern Bardengau, a district to the south of Hamburg.

we never hear of Langobardi in connection with these events. It is far more likely therefore that Ptolemy's location of the Langobardi in this region is due to a mistake.

We must now return to the Angli. From Ptolemy's account (cf. p. 193 f.) it would seem that he regarded the Suebi as a solid band of tribes stretching across the greater part of Germany, from the Rhine to the river Souebos. In this band the Angli (Angeiloi) are represented as occupying the central position, between the upper Ems (apparently) and the Elbe. To the north of them lie the Angriuarii, the Langobardi (Lakkobardoi) and the Dulgibini (Loulgoumnioi), and to the south of them the Chasuarii (Kasouarioi), the Chamaui and the Cherusci. Now since the Angli are said to have been one of the greatest of the interior tribes it is most remarkable that we never find any reference to them in the various accounts of the campaigns waged by Drusus, Tiberius and Germanicus in these districts, though several of the 'smaller tribes' (ἐλάσσονα ἔθνη), viz. the Angriuarii, the Langobardi and the Cherusci, are more or less frequently mentioned in connection with these events. But there is a more serious difficulty. We have already seen that according to Tacitus the Langobardi took part on two occasions in the quarrels of the Cherusci, a fact which distinctly suggests that the two tribes were conterminous. Further, it is stated in *Germ.* 36 that the Cherusci bordered upon the Chauci. According to the same work, cap. 33 f., the Chamaui and Angriuarii had recently moved into the territories of the Bructeri; behind, these tribes were shut in by the Dulgibini and Chasuarii. Lastly we find in *Ann.* II. 19 that, at an earlier date, the Angriuarii had raised a broad earthwork as a boundary between themselves and the Cherusci. From these references it is abundantly clear that the tribes represented by Ptolemy as living to the north of the Suebi (i.e. the Soueboi Angeiloi), viz. the Bructeri, Angriuarii and Chauci, were really conterminous with the Chasuarii[1] and Cherusci, which he represents

[1] If the Chasuarii lived on the Hase, as their name seems to indicate, there can hardly have been another tribe between them and the Bructeri; for the latter inhabited the basin of the Ems and stretched apparently into that of the Lippe (cf. Strabo, p. 290 f., Tacitus, *Ann.* I. 60).

as situated to the south of the Suebi. The position which he assigns to the latter is therefore incredible unless it was due to a later migration—for which we have no evidence.

It has already been mentioned that Tacitus does mention the Angli (*Anglii*), though not in connection with the group of tribes discussed above. The course which he adopts in his Germania is as follows. He begins with the upper Rhine and follows that river to its mouth. Then he traverses north-western Germany from the Rhine to the Elbe (apparently), ending his enumeration of the tribes in these districts with the Chauci, Cherusci and Fosi. Next, after one chapter (37) relating to the Cimbri, he goes on to speak of the various tribes included under the name Suebi. First he takes the Semnones, then the Langobardi, and then a group of seven tribes among which the Angli are included. Unfortunately he gives no indication in any of these cases as to the geographical position of the tribes. Indeed the opening words of cap. 41, "this portion of the Suebi extends into the more secret regions of Germany" (*in secretiora Germaniae*), may be taken as meaning that he had no precise information regarding their position. Yet this expression in itself leads us to infer that he regarded the tribes in question as living east of the Elbe, especially as he has just mentioned the Semnones and Langobardi, who, as we have seen, appear to have inhabited the basin of that river.

The names of the seven tribes as given by Tacitus are Reudigni (v. l. Veusdigni), Auiones, Anglii, Varini, Suarines (v. l. Suardones), Nuit(h)ones and Eudoses. Of these names the first and the last two have never been satisfactorily explained and are probably corrupt[1]. The other four appear to be genuine, but the only ones which occur elsewhere are Anglii and Varini. We have already (p. 108 ff.) had several references to the latter in documents dating from later times and it is very probable that the Οὐίρουνοι which we find beside Τευτονοάροι in Ptolemy's text (cf. p. 194) is a corruption of the same

[1] The name *Eudoses* has been identified with Ptolemy's Φουνδούσιοι (cf. p. 193). Among the forces which served in Ariouistus' army Caesar (*B. Gall.*, I. 51) gives the names *Harudes* and *Sedusii*, for the latter of which the MSS. of Orosius (VI. 7) give *Eduses*, *Edures*, *Eudures*; cf. Zeuss, *op. cit.*, p. 151 f., note.

name. Further it may be noticed that the two pairs of names Τευτονοάροι καὶ Οὐίρουνοι and Τεύτονες καὶ Αὔαρποι have a curious resemblance to one another. They are generally thought to be doublets, and this suspicion is somewhat confirmed by the fact that a place called Οὐίρουνον is marked by Ptolemy at the easternmost extremity of the territory assigned to the latter pair of tribes. As for the geographical position of these tribes the former pair are represented as lying between the Saxones ('on the neck of the peninsula') and the Semnones, who are placed by Ptolemy to the east of the Elbe, while the latter pair lie farther to the east. We must suppose then that Ptolemy believed them to occupy the regions now called Holstein and Mecklenburg. We have already seen (p. 109) that Procopius' account of the migration of the Heruli places the Warni in the direction of Holstein, while evidence for their extension further to the east is perhaps to be found in the name of the Slavonic Warnabi, who occupied Mecklenburg in later times, and in the modern river-name Warnow which is likewise a Slavonic form[1]. We may further compare a passage in Pliny's Natural History, IV. 99, to which we shall have to return later. This passage gives a classification of the Germani in five main groups called Vandili, Ingyaeones, Hermiones, Istriaones and Peucini. The Suebi are placed in the third group together with the Hermunduri, Chatti and Cherusci; but a name which seems to be Varini falls into the first or north-eastern group together with the Burgundiones, Gutones and another tribe whose name (Charini?[2]) we cannot recognise. A certain element of doubt is introduced by the fact that Ptolemy (III. 5, § 20) records the presence of a tribe called Φρουγουνδίωνες in Sarmatia, and immediately after them another tribe named Αὐαρινοί near the source of the Vistula. The latter however are never heard of again and it is at least a question whether

[1] A settlement of Warni in the northern part of the province of Slesvig may perhaps be inferred from the place-name Varnæs (*promontorium Varinorum* in a document of the thirteenth century); cf. Bremer, *op. cit.*, p. 851.

[2] The MSS. have *uarin(n)ec(h)arini*, variously divided.

both names have not been erroneously transferred from the map of Germany[1].

On the whole the evidence, such as it is, distinctly favours the idea that the Varini belonged to the eastern or Baltic half of Germany. This being so we get a possible explanation of another of the names mentioned in Tacitus' list, viz. Suarines. It is surely not incredible that this name may survive in the modern Schwerin (Med. Lat. *Swerinum*). Possibly the obscure form given after *Varini* in Pliny's list is a corruption of the same name.

Tacitus states that the only remarkable characteristic possessed by these seven tribes was that they shared the worship of a certain goddess named Nerthus whose sanctuary lay on 'an island in the Ocean.' We must suppose then that they occupied lands in the neighbourhood of the coast, or at least that they had access to the sea by navigable rivers or otherwise. But it is important for us to decide what the term *Oceanus* means here. Elsewhere it is applied both to the North Sea (e.g. *Germ.* 34) and to the Baltic (ib. 43 f.). If what has been said above as to the position of the Varini and Suarines is correct we shall have to conclude that in this case *Oceanus* means the Baltic. Consequently we must suppose that the Angli also lived in the neighbourhood of that sea. More precisely than this however the information afforded by Tacitus will not suffice to locate them.

On the other hand, since the evidence for the position of the Varini and Suarines is not absolutely conclusive, we are scarcely justified in leaving out of account the possibility that the territories of the seven tribes really lay on the coasts of the North Sea. In this case we may define the area to be taken into consideration somewhat more closely. In the first place we may put aside the whole of the region west of the Elbe. For we have already seen that the tribes which inhabited this region are fairly well known to us from several different

[1] Zeuss (*Die Deutschen*, p. 694 ff.) held the Phrougoundiones to be a non-Teutonic people. But the Βουρούγουνδοι (Οὐρουγοῦνδοι) mentioned by Zosimus and Agathias may have been offshoots of the Burgundians.

sources, while, apart from Ptolemy's statement regarding the Angli, there is no evidence for any names which can be identified with those of the seven tribes. Again, in regard to the position of the sacred island—since Tacitus notes the cult of Nerthus as the special characteristic of the seven tribes, he can hardly have thought that it was shared also by the tribes which he has mentioned previously, e.g. the Langobardi and the Chauci. This consideration however surely prevents us from identifying the sacred island with any of those adjacent to the mouth of the Elbe. If it was situated in the North Sea at all we shall have to suppose that it lay considerably farther to the north, presumably off the coasts of Slesvig or Jutland. It may of course be urged that if the seven tribes had inhabited this region Tacitus would have mentioned them in connection with the Cimbri instead of after the Semnones and Langobardi; for there is a good deal of evidence, as we shall see later, that 'the peninsula of the Cimbri' was what we now call Jutland. The argument however is not quite conclusive, as it is clear from Tacitus' account that his knowledge of the geography of this region was extremely vague. As a matter of fact Strabo also (p. 294) seems to have been under an erroneous impression as to the position of the peninsula occupied by the Cimbri.

It has been happily suggested[1] that a somewhat more definite clue to the position of the Angli may be obtained from Ptolemy's own words, by correcting the position assigned by him to the Langobardi. From the presence of doublets like *Λαγγοβάρδοι* — *Λακκοβάρδοι*, *Οὐίρουνοι* — *Αὔαρποι* it seems probable that Ptolemy derived his names from different sources. His mistake in regard to the positions of the Langobardi and the Angli may possibly be due to a confusion of two different statements, one of which, perhaps from Strabo, p. 290, described the Suebi as extending from the Rhine to the Elbe, while the other represented the Langobardi as the westernmost of the Suebi and placed the Angli to the east or north-east of them. Now if we move the Angli to the east or north-east of the Lakkobardoi, i.e. the true position of the Langobardi, they will

[1] Cf. Schütte, *Var Anglerne Tyskere?*, p. 44 ff.

come into the neighbourhood of the πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἐπιστροφή, in space assigned by Ptolemy to the Teutonoaroi and Ouirounoi, or between them and the Saxones. At all events this would make the Angli neighbours to the Varini.

We have yet to consider the position assigned by Ptolemy to the Saxones. The mistakes made by this writer in regard to the positions occupied by the Langobardi and the Angli have hardly tended to make us feel much confidence in statements resting solely on his authority. It has been observed above that no other writer of the first two centuries mentions the Saxons, while from the end of the third century we find them in quite a different quarter. Yet it deserves to be pointed out that in one respect at least Ptolemy's statements in this case present a more satisfactory appearance. The position of the 'islands of the Saxons' seems to have been fixed independently of that of the Saxons on the mainland; yet the two statements agree very well. It is true that we have no evidence for any islands so far distant from the coast. This mistake however seems to be due to the incorrect orientation of the coast-line of the peninsula[1]. If the latter be corrected it will be seen that these islands, judging from the latitude in which they are placed, must correspond to the islands (Sylt, etc.) off the west coast of Slesvig. They may therefore very well have been inhabited by the same people as the neck of the peninsula. Moreover, as we have seen in an earlier chapter (p. 92), the Saxons themselves appear to have had a tradition that they had come from over the sea—a tradition which we are not justified in rejecting on the ground that the Translatio S. Alexandri assigns an obviously incorrect date to their arrival. Some recollection of their presence in the north seems to have been preserved even by Danish tradition; for Saxo (p. 51) relates that they were expelled from Jutland by an ancient Danish king named Helgo.

[1] There can be little doubt that this false orientation of the coast-line hangs together with the similar mistake in the map of Britain (II, 3). Owing to the latter what should be the northernmost point of Scotland (ἡ Ὀρκὰς ἄκρα) has been made to fall in or very close to the true position of the Ἀλοκίαι νῆσοι, which we shall have to discuss later. Since Ptolemy must have been aware that the Cimbric peninsula did not stretch into the neighbourhood of the coast of Britain it is quite likely that he may have deliberately altered the direction of the former.

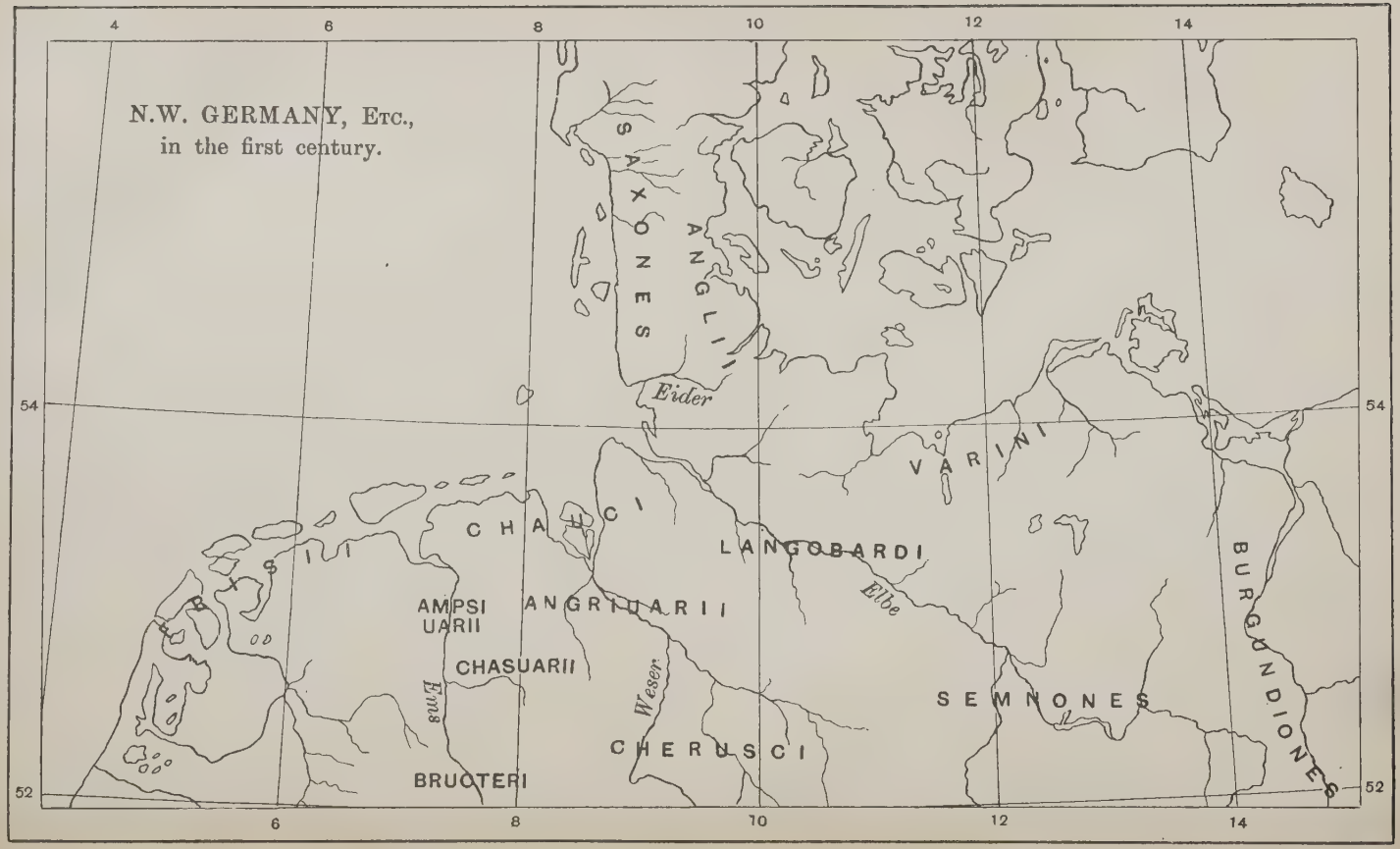
Lastly we have to remember that there is evidence for the prevalence of an Anglo-Frisian language in this region from early times, a language which may very well be descended from that of the ancient Saxons. On all sides therefore Ptolemy's statements seem to be borne out by the evidence at our disposal.

It is not correct however to state, as is often done, that Ptolemy places the Saxons in Holstein. The neck, i.e. the narrowest part, of the peninsula is certainly the part adjacent to the islands; but this lies well to the north of the Eider. It is true that in later times we do find people called Saxons in Holstein. My point however is that this is not the locality most naturally indicated by Ptolemy's words. Again, there is some reason, as we have seen (p. 136 ff.), for believing that in Offa's time, i.e. the fourth century, this district was occupied by a different nation, namely the North Suabi (Swaefe). No certain reference to them occurs in early writings; yet the following piece of evidence deserves to be mentioned. Tacitus in his Life of Agricola, cap. 28, gives an account of the adventures which befell a troop of Usipii who had been employed in the Roman service in Britain, apparently on the west coast, and had mutinied. They took ship and circumnavigated the island, apparently round the northern end[1], and were finally wrecked on the coast of Germany. There they fell into the hands first of the Suebi and then of the Frisii, and some of them were eventually sold as slaves as far as the west bank of the Rhine. From this it appears that some part of the coast of Germany was inhabited by a people called Suebi. As the Chauci bordered on the Frisii and extended as far as the Elbe we shall have to suppose that these Suebi lived to the north of that river. It may of course be urged that Tacitus in the Germania gives the name *Suebi* to all tribes beyond the Elbe, a fact which we shall have to consider in the next chapter. But in the light of the later evidence it is surely not incredible that in this story Tacitus' informants may have used the term quite correctly. In this connection we may further note that Ptolemy describes the Angli as Σουῆβοι Ἀγγειλοί. Now unless we take the term

[1] Cf. Dio Cassius, LXVI. 20.

Suebi in Tacitus' sense, which is probably not in accordance with native use, we have no ground for supposing that the Angli were really included in this group. Indeed the fact that they applied the name Suebi to a neighbouring tribe in later times is distinct evidence to the contrary. But is it not possible that Ptolemy's expression may have been due to the juxtaposition of the names Suebi and Anglii in an earlier document or map, just as we find *Engle and Swaefe* in Widsith?

We have seen that according to a suggestion quoted above (p. 201) the position assigned to the Angli in Ptolemy's source of information may really have been to the north-east of the lower Elbe in the neighbourhood of the πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἐπιστροφή. This would bring them into proximity with the Saxons, though somewhat farther to the south. Now if we examine Ptolemy's map at this point we cannot fail to be struck by one or two curious features. One of course is that the orientation of the coast-line of the peninsula is incorrect. Another is that the coast between the ἐπιστροφή and the river Chalousos is not assigned to any tribe. Again, though the Saxons are represented in one passage as occupying the neck of the peninsula, yet in another we find the words "after the Saxons, from the river Chalousos" etc. (cf. p. 194), which seem to imply that their territory extended considerably to the east. Now what is the ἐπιστροφή and what are the rivers Chalousos and Souebos? At first sight one would probably imagine that the ἐπιστροφή was intended for the Gulf of Lübeck; but I am far from certain that this explanation is correct. Ptolemy makes the distances between the ἐπιστροφή, the Chalousos, the Souebos, the Ouiadouas (Oder) and the Ouistoulas (Vistula) all about the same. In the last case of course the distance indicated is too short; but this fact ought not to discredit the whole series. It seems to me that the conditions are far better satisfied if we identify the ἐπιστροφή with the Eckernförde Fiord or Kiel Bay, the Chalousos with the Trave and the Souebos with the Warnow or possibly the Trebel. It is true of course that the Eckernförde Fiord is not in the same latitude as the mouth of the Trave. But with the kind of knowledge which the Romans possessed of these distant regions observations of latitude are less likely


N.W. GERMANY, Etc.,
in the first century.
4
6
8
10
12
14
54
52
SAXONES
ANGLII
Eider
VARINI
CHAUCI
LANGOBARDI
Elbe
BURGUNDIONES
AMPSI
UARII
ANGRIVARII
CHASUARII
Ems
Weser
SEMNONES
CHERUSCI
BRUCTERI

to have been correctly recorded than distances, even if we take no account of the suggestion that Ptolemy deliberately altered the direction of the coast-line.

If we are right in this identification of the ἐπιστροφή the correction of the position of the Angli quoted above will bring this tribe very near to Angel, their later home, especially if we admit the further suggestion that the names Λαγγοβάρδοι—Σουήβοι Ἀγγειλοί are derived from a series Langobardi—Suebi—Anglii. These corrections however must of course be regarded as hypothetical. For the present we shall have to content ourselves with the vague indications given by Tacitus regarding the position of the Angli and with Ptolemy's statements as to the position of the Saxons. We have seen that if the Angli were really a North Sea people they must be placed on the peninsula and hardly at its southern extremity. On the other hand if they were a Baltic people the information given by Tacitus will not suffice to enable us to fix their exact position. They may have lived either on the peninsula or anywhere along the south-west coast of the Baltic, perhaps as far as the Oder[1]. Yet we may at all events conclude that Tacitus' evidence contains nothing which will in any way count against the supposition that the territories of the Angli were the same in his time as they were in the fourth century.

One point however must be noted. If the Angli really inhabited the southern part of the peninsula, as in later times, their territories would seem to fall within the district assigned by Ptolemy to the Saxons. Are we to infer then that the Angli formed a part of the latter, or were *Angli* and *Saxones* two names for the same people? Either of these hypotheses would agree very well with the English evidence (cf. p. 86 f.), though both, especially the latter, would be somewhat difficult to reconcile with the almost entire absence of any reference to the name *Angli* among the Continental Saxons of later times. A third possibility however deserves to be taken into account. Ptolemy places the Saxons upon the 'neck of the peninsula';

[1] If they had lived beyond this river we should have expected to find them mentioned in a different connection, viz. with the Rugii and other north-eastern tribes (cf. *Germ.* 43 ff.).

but it does not necessarily follow that they occupied the whole of the province of Slesvig. In later times, as we have seen (p. 141), the east and west coasts of the province were occupied by two peoples, the Danes and Frisians, with quite different affinities. There is surely nothing to prevent us from supposing that such may have been the case in the first and second centuries. Now from the fact that the islands off the west coast belonged to the Saxons we may infer with great probability that the adjacent parts of the mainland were in the possession of the same people. But there is nothing to show that the Saxons extended to the Baltic except the vague expression *μετὰ τοὺς Σάξονας* in § 13. On the other hand the modern Angel lies on the coast of the Baltic. The Angel ruled by King Offa may of course have been more extensive. In the following chapters, however, we shall see that both the affinities of the cult of Nerthus and the earliest traditions of the Angli themselves point to a somewhat intimate connection with other Baltic lands.

CHAPTER IX.

THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE ANCIENT GERMANI.

In the last chapter mention was made incidentally of a passage in Pliny's Natural History, IV. 99, in which the Germani are classified in five large groups. It will be convenient here to give this passage in full[1]: "There are five groups of the Germani; the Vandili to whom belong the Burgundians, the Varini, the ..... and the Goths; the second group are the Inguaeones, to whom belong the Cimbri, the Teutoni and the nations of the Chauci; next to the Rhine are the Istaeuones (*Istriaeones*), to whom belong .....; in the interior the Hermiones to whom belong the Suebi, the Hermunduri, the Chatti and the Cherusci. The fifth group consists of the Peucini, the Basternae conterminous with the above-mentioned Daci." It is not quite clear whether in the last sentence Peucini is meant to be a group-name; but for our purpose this question is of no importance.

[1] *Germanorum genera quinque: Vandili quorum pars Burgodiones, Varinne, Charini, Gutones; alterum genus Ingyaeones quorum pars Cimbri, Teutoni ac Chaucorum gentes; proximi autem Rheno Istriaeones quorum pars; mediterranei Hermiones quorum Suebi, Hermunduri, Chatti, Cherusci; quinta pars Peucini, Bastarnae supra dictis contermini Dacis.* The forms of the names used vary a good deal in the different MSS.; but the above seem to have the best authority. For *Ingyaeones* other MSS. have *Ingyaones, Incyeones* etc. The form used in IV. 96 is *Inguaeonum* (Gen.) and in Tacitus, *Germ.* 2, *Ingeuones, Ingaeuones.* For *Istriaeones* the MSS. have *Istriaones, Istriones, Straeones* etc. In Tacitus, l.c., the forms used are *Istaeuones, Isteuones.* The form *Hermiones* seems to be universal except in Tacitus, l.c., where one MS. has *Herminones* as the original reading. The true native forms of these names were in the last case no doubt *Ermianez* or *Erminanez* and in the first perhaps *Ingw(e)ianez.* The other is quite uncertain, though the evidence of the Frankish genealogy (see below) counts against the forms with *-r-*.

The other group-names all occur elsewhere. The name *Inguaeones* is mentioned again by Pliny himself (IV. 96). After a short description of the Scythian coasts (i.e. the eastern part of the Baltic) from north-east to south-west, he says: "At this point we get clearer information as we reach the nation of the Inguaeones, which is the first in Germany." The Hermiones are mentioned again by Mela, *De Chorographia*, III. 3, in his account of the Sinus Codanus: "In it," he says, "are the Cimbri and the Teutoni; beyond lie the Hermiones, the most remote of the Germani." Lastly, Tacitus, *Germ.* 2, states that according to ancient native poems the whole race of the Germani was descended from the god Tuisto and his son Mannus. To the latter "they assign three sons, from whose names those who are nearest to the Ocean are called Inguaeones, the central tribes Hermiones, and the rest Istaeuones. Some however, as might be expected from the antiquity of such traditions, say that the god had more sons than these and consequently use more national designations, viz., Marsi, Gambriuii, Sueui, Vandilii."

A curious reminiscence of the tradition learned by Tacitus has been preserved in a document apparently of Frankish origin, and which has been assigned with considerable probability to the early part of the sixth century[1]. It is found in a number of MSS. and has also been incorporated in the Historia Brittonum, § 17. This document is to the following effect. There were three brothers named Ermenus, Inguo and Istio, from whom thirteen nations are descended. The Goti, Walagoti, Wandali, Gepedes and Saxones are descended from Ermenus; the Burgundiones, Thuringi, Langobardi and Baioarii from Inguo; and the Romani, Brittones, Franci and Alamanni from Istio. This is the form of the genealogy as found in most of the MSS. One early MS. however, together with the Historia Brittonum, places the Burgundiones and the Langobardi among the descendants of Ermenus, and the Wandali and the Saxones among those of Inguo.

[1] Cf. Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, III. p. 325 ff.

The Istaeuones.

It has often been observed that Pliny's reference to the Istaeuones as "those nearest to the Rhine" agrees well with the statement in this genealogy that the Franks were descended from Istio. Unfortunately, owing perhaps to an old scribal error, no tribal names are included among the Istaeuones in our MSS. of Pliny[1]. Tacitus makes no attempt to fix the position of this group, while no names similar to Istio or Istaeuones occur in later writers. We are unable therefore to get beyond the observation noted above.

The Inguaeones.

Concerning the Inguaeones we have more information. Tacitus states that they were the Germani who lived nearest to the Ocean. This statement is not easy to reconcile with the list of nations represented as descended from Inguo in the genealogy; but it is to be observed that the genealogy does not mention any of the northern peoples except the Saxons. Pliny says in one passage that the Inguaeones were the first nation in Germany to be encountered by a traveller coming along the coast from the east, and in another that the Chauci, Cimbri and Teutoni were included among them. It is to these names therefore that we must now turn our attention.

We have already seen that the Chauci (Καῦχοι) are represented by Ptolemy as living along the coast between the Ems and the Elbe and divided into two branches by the Weser. Possibly this is why Pliny speaks of *Chaucorum gentes*. Ptolemy's statements agree well enough with what is said elsewhere by Pliny and also by Tacitus in his Annals. According to the Germania (cap. 35) the Chauci extended inland to a considerable distance—presumably along the basin of the Weser—and bordered upon the Chatti. There can be little doubt however that these two tribes had only become neighbours during the latter part of the first century through the migration of the Angriuarii and the defeat of the Cherusci by the Chatti (*Germ.* 33, 36). After Ptolemy's time the Chauci are seldom mentioned. We find them attacking the territories of the

[1] Some MSS. have *Cimbri*, but this seems to have been taken from the preceding sentence.

Roman empire during the reign of Marcus Aurelius[1]; but after this they seem to have disappeared as a nation.

The Cimbri and Teutoni.

With regard to the Cimbri and Teutoni the facts are as follows. Ptolemy (II. 11, § 12) places a tribe called Kimbroi in the extreme north of the peninsula which seems to derive its name from them. Further he mentions, as we have seen, a tribe named Teutones beside the 'Auarpoi,' apparently in Mecklenburg, and to the west of these a tribe named Teutonoaroi beside the 'Ouirounoi,' presumably in Holstein. As there is reason for believing (cf. p. 199) that *Auarpoi* and *Ouirounoi* are corruptions of the same name (*Varini*), we may probably conclude that there is some close connection between Teutones and Teutonoaroi. Of other ancient writers Tacitus (*Germ.* 37) mentions only the Cimbri, whom he places 'next to the Ocean' and apparently beyond the Chauci. Pliny (IV. 96) speaks of an immense gulf called Codanus, the extremities of which are on one side the Mons Saeuo and on the other the 'promontory of the Cimbri.' This gulf, he says, is filled with islands, including one called Scadinauia, the size of which has not been ascertained, though the known portion of it is inhabited by a nation called Hilleuiones who occupy five hundred pagi. In another passage (XXXVII. 35) he quotes a statement of Pytheas that the inhabitants of an island called Abalus sold amber to the neighbouring Teutoni. Mela (III. 31) also mentions the Sinus Codanus, which he describes as long and narrow, and lying above the Elbe. It is inhabited, he says, by the Cimbri and Teutoni. Again in III. 54 he states that in the Sinus Codanus there is an island called Scadinauia which is still inhabited by the Teutoni. Strabo (p. 292 ff.) speaks of the Kimbroi as inhabiting a peninsula, but places them apparently to the west of the Elbe.

[1] Aelius Spartianus, *Didius Iulianus*, cap. 1. Possibly the Chaibones (for which name some MSS. have *Cauiones*) mentioned in connection with the Heruli by Mamertinus (cf. p. 95) may have been the same people. Not much importance can be attached to the occurrence of the name *Caucus* in Claudian, *De laude Stiliconis*, I. 225, while the proposed reading Καύχους for Κουάδους in Zosimus, III. 6, must be regarded as at least uncertain.

In the Res Gestae Diui Augusti, cap. 26, the Cimbri, Charydes and Semnones are said to have sent envoys to seek the friendship of the emperor.

There is no doubt that the Romans themselves when using these names were thinking of the Cimbri and Teutoni who invaded the province of Illyricum in B.C. 113 and who, after ravaging a large part of western Europe, were eventually exterminated by the Roman general Marius at the battles of Aquae Sextiae and Vercellae. The appearance of the names Cimbri and Teutoni in the geographers is therefore an identification, whether correct or not, of the nations from which these hordes had set out. In the case of the Cimbri indeed the identification is clearly stated both by Strabo and Tacitus. Modern writers, however, have thrown doubt upon this evidence, and at the present time it is the prevailing view that the Cimbri and Teutoni of the geographers were antiquarian fictions, and that no nations bearing these names were in existence at the beginning of the Christian era.

Strabo (p. 293) states that the Cimbri presented the emperor Augustus with the most sacred cauldron which they possessed and asked him for his friendship and for forgiveness for what had occurred in the past. The event referred to here is obviously the same as that which is mentioned in the Res Gestae Diui Augusti. What Strabo says may be merely the construction put upon the acts of the envoys by the Romans; but at all events there seems to be no reason for doubting that an embassy was sent, and further that it was sent by a nation which the Romans believed to be identical with the Cimbri. With regard to the Teutoni the case is not so clear, because this nation is not mentioned by Strabo[1], except in one passage (p. 201) apparently derived from Caesar. Later writers however (e.g. St Jerome, *Ep. ad Ageruchiam*) represent them as having come from the farthest coasts of Germany. Moreover, Pliny's

[1] In two passages (pp. 183, 293) dealing with the Cimbric invasion Strabo speaks of a people called Τωυγενοί, who are said (p. 293) to have been a part of the Helvetii. It has been suggested that this form is a scribal error for Τουτονοί (Teutoni), and consequently that the Teutoni really belonged to the Helvetii. But both Strabo himself (p. 201) and Velleius (II. 12) reckon the Teutoni among the Germani.

quotation from Pytheas seems to show that a tribe of this name had been known to travellers in the north long before the Cimbric migration. On the whole therefore I cannot see any reasonable ground for doubting that there did exist on the northern coasts nations which the Romans identified, rightly or wrongly, with the famous Cimbri and Teutoni. These nations may of course have disappeared after the time of Augustus, for it was probably during that period that the information given by Mela and Pliny was acquired. On the other hand Ptolemy may have had more recent information, though this again is by no means certain.

But, granting that such nations existed, there is considerable difficulty in determining their geographical position. Strabo, Pliny and Ptolemy agree in locating the Cimbri upon a peninsula, and both the latter authorities describe this as the peninsula or promontory of the Cimbri. The Teutones are located by Ptolemy apparently in Mecklenburg, while Pliny gives no indications as to their position. Mela on the other hand places both the Cimbri and the Teutoni in the Sinus Codanus, which he says lies above the Elbe. Before we go further it will be well to try to ascertain what is meant by 'Sinus Codanus.' This gulf is mentioned also by Pliny (IV. 96), who says that it extends from the Mons Saeuo to the promontory of the Cimbri, and that the island Scadinauia, by which he clearly means Sweden, lay within it. The manner in which he speaks of the 'Mons Saeuo[1]' distinctly implies that it lay at no great distance from the frontier of Germania, which according to Pliny himself (IV. 97) apparently, as well as Mela and Ptolemy, was formed by the Vistula. It would seem then that the Mons Saeuo is to be identified with some range of hills near the coast of West Prussia; but, since these are all low, we may suspect that Pliny's description is inaccurate and that the name really belonged to the cliffs of Rügen. In either case the

[1] *incipit deinde clarior aperiri fama ab gente Inguaeonum quae est prima in Germania. mons Saeuo ibi inmensus nec Riphaeis iugis minor inmanem ad Cimbrorum usque promunturium efficit sinum qui Codanus uocatur.....quidam haec habitari ad Vistilam usque fluuium a Sarmatis, Venedis, Sciris, Hirris tradunt* etc.

Sinus Codanus can hardly mean anything else than the part of the Baltic which lies between the coast of Prussia on the one side and the Jutish peninsula on the other. It is true that modern writers have identified the Mons Saeuo with the hills on the south coast of Norway[1] and consequently made the Sinus Codanus correspond to the whole of the Baltic. But by doing so they entirely disregard Pliny's language and attribute to the ancients a geographical discovery which was probably not known in the west of Europe before the time of King Alfred[2]. Indeed it is clear, not merely from Ptolemy's map, but also from the application of the term *insula* to Scadinauia and from the use of *Oceanus* by Pliny (IV. 94) and Tacitus (*Germ.* 43 f.), that the ancients were quite unaware of the fact that the Baltic was a gulf.

There certainly seems to be some discrepancy between the statements of Mela and those of Ptolemy. But are we justified on this ground in assuming that all attempts to locate the Cimbri and Teutoni are due to antiquarian speculation? In the case of the former nation the references to the peninsula seem to me to be so explicit as to render this view improbable. I think it is by no means impossible that the discrepancies noted above may be explained otherwise. We may observe that the Cimbri and Teutoni are not the only nations about whose position our authorities disagree. Pliny states that the island Scadinauia was inhabited by a tribe named Hilleuiones which occupied five hundred pagi. This name can hardly be different from *Ailouaiones* which Ptolemy places on the mainland to the east of the Teutones and Auarpoi. Now is it not possible that all these discrepancies may be due to the use of an awkwardly constructed map? So far as I am aware, there is no reason for believing that any map of northern Europe constructed on scientific principles was in existence before the

[1] Of course it is not true that any of the hills or cliffs of north-eastern Germany are as high as the Valdai Hills (*Riphaea iuga*); but the statement that the hills on the coast of southern Norway were not less than the Valdai Hills though true would be ridiculous.

[2] From Adam of Bremen, IV. 11, it may be inferred that the geography of the further part of the Baltic was unknown to the Germans even in the middle of the eleventh century.

time of Marinus. The language used by Latin writers, especially Mela's description of the Sinus Codanus, seems to point to a map similar in form to the Tabula Peutingeriana, which is believed to be descended from the wall-map set up in the Forum at Rome by Augustus. If the ancients could represent the Bay of Biscay, which they knew very well, as a long and narrow inlet, is it likely that they would hesitate to represent the Sinus Codanus, of which they knew very little, in the same way? If they did have a map in which the Sinus Codanus was represented thus, the discrepancies noted above might have arisen out of the overcrowding of names in a narrow space. Thus it might come about subsequently that certain nations might be located by one writer in the gulf itself and by another on the adjacent coasts on either side.

But have we any means of deciding which of the various positions assigned to the Cimbri and Teutoni are likely to be correct? In the case of the Cimbri the balance of evidence certainly favours northern Jutland. Moreover the province of Aalborg, the northernmost part of Jutland south of the Liimfjord, was formerly called Himmerland (Himbersyssel), which may very well mean 'land of the Cimbri[1].' This identification is especially favoured by the fact that the province of Ringkjøbing was formerly called Hardeland or Harthesyssel (in Old Norse literature Hörð), a name which recalls the Charoudes or Charydes mentioned beside the Cimbri by Ptolemy and in the Res Gestae Diui Augusti, though the position assigned by Ptolemy to this tribe does not quite suit the province of Ringkjøbing. Again between these two provinces on the sea we find another now called Tisted but formerly Thyland or Thythesyssel (in Old Norse literature Thióð), which, so far as the name goes, may represent the Teutoni of ancient times. The district in question has certainly been exposed to inundations from the sea and in this respect therefore will suit the conditions as well as any of the coast-regions of the North Sea.

[1] For these identifications see Schütte, *Anz. f. d. Alt.* XXVIII. 14 f., and on the other side Kossina, *Indogerm. Forschungen*, VII. 290 f., note, where they are regarded with more or less scepticism. If, as there seems no reason to doubt, *Cimbri* and *Teutoni* are Teutonic names, we must suppose that they have preserved archaic and probably Celtic orthography.

If these identifications are correct we shall have to suppose that the early geographers, before Ptolemy or Marinus, regarded the Liimfjord as part of the Sinus Codanus—a hypothesis which at all events has the merit of accounting for Mela's description of the latter. It is to be observed that the presence of three islands, called Alokiai, off the north end of the peninsula in Ptolemy's map shows that the fjord had at that time more than one entrance towards the west. What these islands were may be seen from Adam of Bremen, IV. 16, where we again, nine hundred years later, hear of three islands in this quarter. Adam however fortunately gives their names, *Wendila*, *Morse* and *Thud*, i.e. clearly the modern provinces of Hjørring (formerly Vendsyssel, Old Norse *Vendill*) and Tisted and the island of Mors. The channels had been silted up before Saxo's time, though one of them at least was open in the tenth century and apparently during the early part of the eleventh[1].

This explanation would lead us to conclude that both the Cimbri and the Teutoni really lived in what we now call the north of Jutland. However that may be, I think the hypothesis that these nations were located in and around the Sinus Codanus in some early map will satisfactorily account for all the geographical notices which we find regarding them in ancient writers. Pliny's statements that the Inguaeones begin at or near the mons Saeuo, and that the Cimbri, Teutoni and Chauci belonged to this group may quite possibly come from the same source. On the other hand the latter of these statements might be based on nothing more than some such expression as *proximi Oceano Ingaeuones* which we find in Tacitus.

The Hermiones and the Suebi.

We may now turn to the Hermiones. In this group Pliny, as we have seen, includes the Suebi, Hermunduri, Chatti and Cherusci. The last three names need not detain us long. Both the Chatti and Cherusci were very well known to the Romans, and there is abundant evidence that both inhabited the basin of the Weser. The

[1] Cf. Saxo, pp. 325, 388; Olafs Saga Tryggvasonar (Heimskringla) 41, St Olaf's Saga (*ib.*) 157 f., Saga Haralds harðraða (*ib.*) 60.

former lay in its upper reaches, the Werra, Fulda and Eder, while the Cherusci occupied the middle part of the basin, together probably with its tributaries, the Aller and Leine. The Hermunduri bordered upon the Chatti, apparently about the upper waters of the Werra, and extended southwards to the frontier of the Roman province of Vindelicia. Into this region however they are said to have moved, with the consent of the Romans, just before the beginning of the Christian era. In A.D. 5, according to Velleius, II. 106, they were still conterminous with the Semnones on the Elbe. It would seem then that at this time they occupied the whole of the basin of the Saale.

The name *Suebi* is of very frequent occurrence from the earliest times. In Chapter V. we had mention of a nation called North Suabi. During the fifth and following centuries the name is applied to the Alamanni, to a Teutonic people who settled in Spain and perhaps also, by some writers, to the Bavarians. When we come back to earlier times we find Ptolemy speaking of the Soueboi Langobardoi, the Soueboi Angeiloi and the Soueboi Semnones. Tacitus uses the term in a far wider sense. Indeed he seems to apply it to all the peoples of eastern Germany. He speaks of the eastern part of the Baltic as *mare Suebicum* and includes in 'Suebia' even the Sitones, a nation whom he represents as living beyond the Suiones (in Sweden). The westernmost of his Suebi seem to be the Semnones, Langobardi and Hermunduri. An explanation of Tacitus' use of the term may perhaps be obtained from Strabo, p. 290, where a list is given of tribes subject to the Marcomannic king Maroboduus. Most of the names unfortunately are corrupt, but the list probably includes the Goths (Βούτωνας) and the Lugii (Λουίους), a tribe which is located in eastern Germany both by Ptolemy and Tacitus. The passage closes with the words: "(he acquired supremacy also over) a great tribe belonging to the Suebi (Σόηβοι) themselves, namely the Semnones." Here we find that Σόηβοι is clearly a group-name, covering more than one tribe, but that Maroboduus' supremacy extended also over a number of tribes which did not belong to this group. Hence it seems probable that

Tacitus applies the name Suebi to tribes which had been brought under Suebic supremacy, though even in that sense the extent of Suebia is probably exaggerated. The tribes which Strabo himself counts among the Suebi are the Quadi, Marcomanni, Hermunduri, Semnones and Langobardi. One of these tribes, the Hermunduri, were, as we have seen, allied with the Romans in the first century and had occupied northern Bavaria with their consent; yet we find them intervening in the dynastic struggles of the Marcomanni on more than one occasion. The others all belonged to the kingdom of Maroboduus until his war with the Cherusci, when the Semnones and Langobardi renounced their allegiance. It is probable however that these tribes were all more or less united politically for a long period. For we hear of Langobardi taking part in the Marcomannic war, and even as late as the year 213 it is recorded (Dio Cass. LXXVII. 14) that Caracalla received embassies from the tribes who dwelt about the mouth of the Elbe at a time when he was apparently dealing with the Alamanni.

From the evidence at our disposal we need have but little hesitation in accepting Strabo's statements that the five tribes mentioned above belonged to the Suebi. The group may also have included some smaller tribes such as the Naristi (or Varisti?) and the Marsigni, which are not mentioned by Strabo. More important for us however is the question how far the Suebi extended to the north. Tacitus, as we have seen, includes the Angli, together with all the other tribes who worshipped Nerthus, among the Suebi, while Ptolemy speaks of the *Soueboi Angeiloi*. Yet we have no evidence from later times to confirm this. We have seen however (p. 136 f.) that there certainly was a tribe called Suebi living in the immediate neighbourhood of the Angli, perhaps in western Holstein. The occurrence of the names *Engle* and *Swaefe* side by side in Widsith tends indeed to show that the Angli were not reckoned among the Suebi, at all events not within the period covered by English tradition; and, as we have suggested above (p. 203 f.), it is scarcely beyond the limits of possibility that Ptolemy's expression *Soueboi Angeiloi* may have arisen out of the fact that the (North) Suebi and the Angli were neighbouring tribes.

It has been thought that in addition to the tribes mentioned above the name Suebi was specially applied to one particular tribe which had no other name and which wandered about between south-western Germany and Pannonia. But the evidence brought forward in favour of this view is by no means convincing, and it seems more probable that the people whom we find called Suebi on various occasions were at one time Semnones, at another Quadi or Alamanni etc. I do not deny of course that Suebi may have been a tribal name at a remote period. In historical times however it appears likely that every Suebic tribe had a name of its own. The most doubtful case is that of the North Suebi. I have suggested above that this name was applied to the tribe by its western and northern (non-Suebic) neighbours and that the name by which it was known to its southern neighbours was Heruli. If this explanation is erroneous we shall have to suppose that among themselves and to other Suebic tribes they were known only by local and dynastic names.

If we now sum up the results of our discussion with regard to the Suebi we shall see that, whatever affinities there may have been between the various tribes in other respects, they clearly formed a geographical unit. They were the inhabitants of the basin of the Elbe. From time to time of course we find offshoots from them extending beyond this area, and the river-name *Souebos* may perhaps be taken as evidence for their presence in the eastern part of Mecklenburg from early times. On the whole however the observation seems to be practically correct for the first centuries of the Christian era. The non-Suebic tribes which Pliny includes among the Hermiones, namely the Chatti and the Cherusci, lived as we have seen in the basin of the Weser. Whether any tribes further to the west were included we do not know. With regard to those which lay to the east of the Suebi we may, as we shall see shortly, give a negative answer if we adopt Pliny's classification. The Hermiones therefore according to Pliny's statement may be defined as the inhabitants of the basins of the Weser and the Elbe, excluding the coast-district between the two rivers.

The Vandili.

We may next turn to Pliny's fourth group, the Vandili. This name, like Suebi, appears also in Tacitus, *Germ.* 2, among the tribes or groups of tribes which were believed by some to be descended from separate sons of Mannus. Except in these two passages the name does not occur until the Marcomannic war, from which time onwards it is found very frequently as a tribal name. Whether there was a tribe called Vandili in the first century or not we have no means of deciding. The view generally accepted is that the nation known later as Vandili (Wandali) was identical with that which in the first century was called Lugii (Lygii) and which seems from all accounts to have occupied the upper part of the basin of the Oder. The tribes which Pliny includes among the Vandili are the Burgundians, the Goths and the Varini, together with another name which cannot be identified (cf. p. 207). The Burgundians appear from Ptolemy's statements to have inhabited the lower part of the basin of the Oder. The same authority places the Goths to the east of the Vistula in Sarmatia; but from Tacitus, *Germ.* 43, it seems probable that they were not confined to the east of that river. Regarding the Varini there is some doubt, as we have already seen (p. 199), as to whether they should be identified with Ptolemy's 'Auarpoi' or 'Auarinoi,' the former of whom are placed apparently in Mecklenburg and the latter beyond the Vistula. Lastly we have to take account of a tribe called Silingai, which Ptolemy places south of the Semnones. This tribe is not mentioned by Pliny; but there can be little doubt that they belonged to his Vandili. For in later times we find a tribe described as *Wandali Silingi* or *Wandali cognomine Silingi*[1] among the Vandals in Spain. Their name survives (in Slavonic form) in that of the modern province Silesia, a fact which seems to indicate that their true position lay farther to the south-east than the district in which they are located by Ptolemy. On the whole then we shall hardly go far wrong in concluding that Pliny's Vandili were the inhabitants of the basins of the Oder and the Vistula, so far as the latter was Teutonic at all.

[1] Idatius' Chronicle *ad ann. Honorii* XVII, XXII, XXIV.

The two other names which according to Tacitus were believed by some to denote descendants of separate sons of Mannus are *Marsi* and *Gambriuii*. Both of these appear to be names of tribes. The only other reference to the Gambriuii is in Strabo, p. 291, where they are mentioned together with the Cherusci, Chatti and Chattuarii. The Marsi also are seldom mentioned, but it appears from Tacitus, *Ann.* I. 56, II. 25, that they were allies and near neighbours of the Chatti and probably also of the Cherusci. Again from *ib.* I. 51 we may infer that the Bructeri, Tubantes and Usipetes (Usipii) lay more or less between them and the Roman headquarters in the neighbourhood of Xanten. Since the Bructeri apparently occupied the whole of the basin of the Lippe (cf. *ib.* I. 60, Velleius, II. 105), while the Usipetes seem to have lived on the Ruhr at this time[1], we must conclude that the territories of the Marsi were situated about the sources of the latter river or in the basin of the Diemel. It is not unlikely that a trace of them may be preserved in the place-name *Marsberg* (formerly *Mersburg*). After the first years of Tiberius' reign we have no further references either to the Marsi or the Gambriuii.

Now if we compare the names *Marsi*, *Gambriuii*, *Suebi* and *Vandili* on the one hand with the names *Istaeuones*, *Inguaeones* and *Herminones* on the other, we cannot fail to notice certain marked differences between the two series. *Marsi* and *Gambriuii* are names of tribes. *Suebi* may not have been a tribal name, but we have satisfactory evidence in most cases for deciding what tribes were included under this name. With regard to *Vandili* the case is not so clear, probably because the Romans had little to do with the peoples of eastern Germany during the first century. We do not know whether it was a tribal name at this time, though it certainly was later; nor do we know whether there was any close relationship between these later Vandals and the Burgundians. There is clear evidence however for such a relationship between the Vandals and the Goths. Indeed according to Procopius (*Vand.* I. 2) they differed

[1] The exact position of the Tubantes is uncertain, but they probably lived in the neighbourhood of the Chatti (cf. Ptol. II. 11, § 23; Tacitus, *Ann.* XIII. 56).

only in name; they spoke the same language, which was called Gothic, and were alike in all other respects.

On the other hand the names *Istaeuones*, *Inguaeones* and *Hermiones* are clearly of a different character. They never occur except in geographical writings and we have no reason for believing that they were terms in ordinary use. When we try to determine what tribes belonged to each group we are dependent entirely on Pliny's statements. His classification, as we have seen, appears to be geographical, but we do not know on what grounds it was based. Some modern writers have expressed doubt as to whether the Chatti and Cherusci really belonged to the Hermiones. In later times the Chatti appear to have been included among the Franks; but the Franks belonged in all probability to the Istaeuones. Moreover there is a certain amount of evidence—somewhat inconclusive, it is true—that the Chatti had come into the basin of the Weser from the north-west, not long before the beginning of the Christian era. In the case of the Inguaeones Pliny's account is still less satisfactory, for with the exception of the Chauci the only names which he gives are those of tribes famous in ancient history but apparently reduced to insignificance in his own day. I am much inclined to suspect that the Germani of Pliny's time would themselves have found considerable difficulty in stating to which of the three groups each of the various tribes then existing belonged.

It may perhaps be urged that the survival of the names *Istio*, *Inguo* and *Erminus* in the Frankish genealogy (p. 208) shows that these divisions remained in living force for centuries after Pliny's time. But this argument can hardly be maintained. It is to be observed in the first place that the genealogy, like Tacitus, gives a classification according to three divisions only as against the four-fold classification adopted by Pliny. Now of the thirteen tribal or national names which appear in the genealogy four (*Goti*, *Wandali*, *Gepedes* and *Burgundiones*) would in all probability belong to Pliny's Vandili, four (*Thuringi*, *Langobardi*, *Baioarii* and *Alamanni*) to his Hermiones, one (*Franci*) to his Istaeuones and perhaps one (*Saxones*) to his Inguaeones. Of the remaining three names one (*Walagoti*)

is obscure and probably corrupt, while the others are not Teutonic at all. Now in order to bring about any agreement between Pliny's scheme and that of the genealogy we shall have to suppose that the Vandili and Inguaeones of the former have been amalgamated. But as a matter of fact the majority of the MSS. include the Goti, Wandali, Gepedes and Saxones among the descendants of Erminus. The only text which gives the Wandali and Saxones to Inguo separates them from the Goti and Gepedes. Again the Alamanni are assigned to Istio by all texts. Lastly what is to be said of the inclusion of the Romans and Britons? The most, I think, which can be gathered from this document is (i) that the old names (Istio, Inguo, Erminus) were still remembered, and (ii) that the author, assuming that he was a Frank, was aware that his own nation claimed descent from Istio. The rest of the scheme is indeed generally regarded as conjectural and based on the political divisions of the time when it was composed. But have we any reason for believing that the knowledge possessed by the Germani of Pliny's age was of a very different character?

Some modern writers have sought to make up for our lack of information regarding the Istaeuones, Inguaeones and Hermiones by utilising the evidence of language. Starting from the statement that the Inguaeones lived next to the Ocean they have identified this group with the Anglo-Frisian linguistic group. Then Pliny's Vandili are equated with the Gothic or East-Teutonic linguistic group, and finally the Istaeuones and Hermiones with the peoples who speak Low and High German dialects respectively. It is to be observed that this last equation involves the identification of the Hermiones with the Suebi; and consequently those who adopt it necessarily reject Pliny's statement that the Chatti and Cherusci belonged to the Hermiones. In one point this scheme certainly rests on a solid foundation, namely in the fact that the Vandals and Goths spoke the same or very similar languages, though with regard to the Burgundians the evidence is not so clear. But the identification of the Inguaeones with the Anglo-Frisian group rests on the assumption that languages of this type were once spoken in the western Baltic, a hypothesis for which no solid

evidence has been produced. Further, as we shall see shortly, the only reminiscences of the names *Inguo* and *Inguaeones* preserved by tradition refer to the Scandinavians, who are not included in any of the groups identified above. The whole scheme indeed seems to me to be based on a fundamental error. The sound-changes which differentiated the Scandinavian, Anglo-Frisian and German groups of languages from one another appear to have operated in the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries. On the other hand the ethnic groups called Istaeuones, Inguaeones and Hermiones seem to have been obscure and probably antiquated in the first century. With the Vandili the case may be different, for the eastern languages were clearly differentiated from the rest at an earlier period. It is possible also that the Suebic languages differed from those of their neighbours on the west in certain respects (e.g. in the treatment of Teut. *-ē-*), as well as from those on the east, as early as the second century. But we have seen that the Suebic and Vandilic groups really differ from the other three and are presumably of later date.

The antiquity of the latter groups may perhaps be best appreciated when we reflect that the others seem to have been by no means of recent growth. It is clear from Strabo's distinction between the Suebic and non-Suebic elements in Maroboduus' kingdom that the origin of the group must date from before the time of that king. Half a century earlier we find Ariouistus leading a similar combination of tribes. Yet it is not at all likely that he was the first to establish the group; for it is not clear that all the tribes which he ruled over were Suebic. Again, the centre of his power lay apparently in the south-west of Germany, whereas the Semnones who inhabited the basin of the Elbe claimed to be the most ancient and noble of the Suebi. It seems clear then that the origin of the Suebi as a group must be put back at least beyond the time of Caesar. It is true that we cannot trace the Vandili in the same way. The Marsi and Gambriuii were tribes, as we have seen, but the context in which their names occur (*Germ.* 2) justifies us, I think, in assuming either that they had once been very important tribes or that they had stood at the head of confederacies.

Yet their names disappear from history after the campaigns of Germanicus. On the whole then there seems to be good reason for believing that these groups were not of recent origin in the first century of our era.

Indeed it is a hypothesis, for which little or no evidence is available, that they originated in political causes at all. The Suebi, as we have seen, appear to have been more or less politically united for a considerable period; but our authorities do not suggest that the group arose out of such a union. The only hint as to its origin which has come down to us is Tacitus' statement that the Marsi, Gambriuii, Suebi and Vandilii were believed by some to be descended from different sons of Mannus—from which we may infer that by the natives themselves the bond was regarded as one of blood-relationship. But as to what in practice constituted the bond between the various Suebic tribes we are not informed. It is not unlikely that they had similar laws and customs. The only characteristic feature recorded by Tacitus is that they dressed their hair differently from the rest of the Germani. Owing however to Tacitus' loose use of the term *Suebi* we do not know whether this custom was characteristic of the Suebi proper or whether it was common to all the eastern and northern tribes.

A better answer may probably be obtained from a consideration of *Germ.* 39. Here we are told that "the Semnones claim to be the most ancient and noble of the Suebi. Their claim to antiquity is established by the existence of religious ceremonies. At a fixed time all the nations of the same stock meet together by means of delegates in a forest which has been rendered sacred by the auguries of their forefathers and by a traditional feeling of dread. Here they begin their barbarous festival in gruesome fashion by slaying a man publicly. Moreover this is not the only way in which veneration is shown to the grove. The whole of their religion is centred on this spot, their idea being that it was from there that the tribe was sprung and that there is the home of the god who rules over all, while everything else is subject and obedient. The claim put forward by the Semnones receives further confirmation from their prosperous condition; for they occupy a hundred

cantons, and the greatness of their numbers leads them to regard themselves as the chief people of the Suebi."

From this passage we learn not only that the various Suebic tribes believed themselves to be united by blood-relationship (*omnes eiusdem sanguinis populi*), but also that they met together for the performance of common religious ceremonies. Now it is to be observed that in the territory of the Marsi there was a sanctuary, which Tacitus calls the 'temple of Tamfana,' and which he says was the special resort of all the neighbouring tribes (*Ann.* I. 51)—including perhaps the Bructeri, Tubantes, Usipetes, Chatti and Cherusci. From this we may infer with some probability that the Marsi had once occupied a position, similar to that of the Semnones, at the head of a religious confederation of tribes which claimed descent from a common ancestor. Whether the names *Gambriuii* and *Vandilii* represent similar religious confederacies we do not know; but in the latter case the fact that Tacitus mentions the existence of an important sanctuary in the territories of a tribe[1] belonging to the Lygii or Lugii (cf. p. 219) certainly gives some support to the suggestion[2].

Is it possible that the Istaeuones, Inguaeones and Hermiones were likewise religious confederations? If these three names really included the whole of the Germani, we may, I think, at once give a negative answer to this question—though of course without denying that they may have their origin in religion. In any case no ancient authorities give any hint of such an explanation of the terms. It will be well for us now however to see what evidence there is for the survival of these names in later times.

Apart from the Frankish genealogy no trace of the name Istaeuones appears to have been found. The others however are fairly well represented in personal names. In the North

[1] The name of the tribe is uncertain, *Nahanaruali* or *Naharuali* (Germ. 43).

[2] It has been suggested that the name borne by the royal family of the Vandals (*Asdingi*) points to a connection with this sanctuary (cf. Müllenhoff, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, XII. 346 f.); but the suggestion must be regarded as very doubtful. If the name is to be connected with O. Norse *haddr*, 'coiffure,' I should prefer to explain it by the custom described in Germ. 38.

especially names compounded with *Ing(u)-* seem to have been very common at all periods, e.g. *Ivarr* (*Yngvarr*), *Ingibiörg*, *Ingigerðr*. In England such names, e.g. *Ingwald*, *Inguburg*, occur from the seventh century onwards, though not very frequently, while in the Bernician genealogy we find *Ingui* or *Ingibrand*. On the Continent we find *Ingomar*, *Ingofrid* etc., the first of which goes back, in the form *Inguiomerus*, to the beginning of the Christian era, where it is borne by one of the chiefs of the Cherusci. Similarly, names compounded with *Irmin-* occur not unfrequently both in England, e.g. *Eormenric* (*Irminric*), *Iurminburg*, *Eormenred*, and on the Continent, e.g. *Hermanaric*, *Irminfrith*, *Ermintrudis*, from early times. The name of the Cheruscan chief *Arminius* at the beginning of the Christian era is doubtless a derivative of the same stem, if, as has been suggested, the form has been affected by Celtic pronunciation.

The Irminsul.

The latter of these words appears also in the Scandinavian, English and German languages in a number of poetical compounds with the meanings 'vast,' 'infinite' or 'monstrous,' e.g. *eormengrund*, 'vast earth,' *eormencyn*, 'vast race,' *iörmungandr*, 'monstrous demon,' *irminthiod*, 'vast people,' *irmingot*, 'infinite God.' The most famous of such words is *Irminsul*, the name of an immense wooden shaft or pillar worshipped by the Old Saxons at a place called 'Eresburg,' now Marsberg on the Diemel[1]. It was cut down in the year 772 by Charlemagne, who spent three days in destroying the sanctuary and carried off much gold and silver. These facts rather lead us to infer that the Irminsul was regarded as a national object of worship. There is some evidence however for believing that this was not the only pillar of its kind. The

[1] Some modern writers hold that the place where the Irminsul stood lay somewhat farther to the north, in the neighbourhood of Lippspringe. But Thietmar (*Chron.* II. 1) states distinctly that its site was subsequently occupied by St Peter's Church in 'Eresburg.' It is certainly very remarkable that the Saxons should have had an important and rich sanctuary so close to their frontier, and one can hardly resist the suspicion that it may have been a sacred place before it came into their hands. The position would suit that of the *templum Tamfanae* mentioned by Tacitus (*Ann.* I. 51).

historian Widukind after narrating the victory of the Saxons over the Thuringi at Scheidungen on the Unstrut in 531 (cf. p. 91 f.) gives the following account of their subsequent proceedings: "In the morning they planted their eagle at the eastern gate and, piling up an altar of victory, paid appropriate reverence to the objects of their worship according to the superstition of their fathers, representing by name Mars, by the likeness of pillars Hercules, by position the Sun, who is called Apollo by the Greeks." That this really is a reference to the Irminsul is shown by the next sentence: "Hence the view of those who hold that the Saxons are descended from the Greeks has a certain amount of probability, for Mars is called Hirmin or Hermes in Greek, a word[1] which we use in ignorance even at the present day when we wish to express praise or abuse." No doubt Widukind's story contains unhistorical elements; but I think we are justified in inferring from this passage that he regarded pillars bearing the name Irmin as a symbol of the Saxon religion which in early times at least might be set up elsewhere besides in the sanctuary at Marsberg.

The origin and significance of the Irminsul has never been quite satisfactorily explained. It seems to have some connection with the Maypoles of England and Germany. For in former times these were often of considerable height. The church of St Andrew Undershaft in London is supposed to have derived its name from a tall Maypole which overtopped the church-tower in the fifteenth century. Another, which was set up in the Strand in 1661, is said to have been 134 feet high. But the Irminsul seems to have been a more highly developed form of the pillar-cult. The only ancient work which gives any account of it is the Translatio S. Alexandri, cap. 3, where the following passage occurs: "(The Saxons) also worshipped a shaft of wood of no little size which was set up aloft in the open. In their own language they called it Irminsul, *quod Latine dicitur universalis columna, quasi sustinens omnia.*" It has been observed that the last sentence suggests an idea similar to that of the world-tree in Scandinavian mythology.

[1] I understand this sentence to refer to the use of such expressions as *Irmingot*, *Iörmungandr* (see above).

The question whether the Irminsul was connected with the worship of any god or hero called Irmin is one which is now generally answered in the negative. Yet Widukind's language, obscured as it is by confusion with Graeco-Roman mythology, distinctly implies that he had some such connection in his mind. It is true that we have no satisfactory evidence for believing that Mars was called Irmin[1] in any Teutonic language any more than he was called Hermes in Greek. But in addition to Mars (whose name is preserved in *Tiwesdaeg* etc.) and Mercurius (Woden), Tacitus mentions a third god whom he calls Hercules and whose true (Teutonic) name has never been satisfactorily ascertained. Of him he says little except that brave men were wont to call upon him before battle (*Germ.* 3). In another passage (*ib.* 34) however it is stated that a Roman prince, Drusus the Elder, had during his campaigns in Germany heard of the existence of 'pillars of Hercules' but was prevented from investigating the truth of the report because he had no means of crossing the sea. Now, since Drusus advanced as far as the Elbe, the rumour, if it contained any truth, referred presumably to the regions across the North Sea, quite possibly

[1] The identification of Irmin with the Teutonic 'Mars' was put forward long ago by Müllenhoff (*Deutsche Altertumskunde*, IV. 519 ff.) and has been favourably received by a number of subsequent writers; but the arguments in support of it are far from convincing. Perhaps the chief one is that the place where the Irminsul stood was formerly called 'Eresburg' (now Marsberg). This place was sometimes described as *Mons Martis* in documents of the thirteenth and following centuries; and it is held that *Er* was a name of Mars because of the ancient Bavarian name for Tuesday, *Er(i)tac* or *Erichtag*, often erroneously given as *Erestag*. For a discussion of this question see Much, *Festgabe für R. Heinzel*, p. 195 ff. But surely *Mons Martis* may equally well be a learned substitution for *Mersburg*, which is said to occur nearly two centuries earlier (cf. Grimm, *Teut. Mythol*[4]., I. p. 198) and which may have a different origin (cf. p. 220). Again it is assumed that in *Germ.* 39 the phrase *eiusdem sanguinis populi* refers to the Hermiones, from which is drawn the questionable inference that the *regnator omnium deus* worshipped by the Semnones must have been Irmin. On the other hand in the ancient gloss *Cyuuari. Suapa* (Graff, *Diutiska*, II. 370) the former word is taken to mean 'verehrer des Ziu'—though this translation surely requires some explanation. Hence it is inferred that Ziu (Tiu) also was the chief god of the Suebi (Semnones). Lastly, since Irmin is regarded as 'ein allumfassender himmelsgott,' the identification of the two deities is materially facilitated by the incorrect phonetic equation of the name *Tiu* with Ζεύς.

therefore to the home-land of the Saxons. Is there anything then to prevent us from supposing that the pillars of which he heard may really have been early examples of the Irminsul? If Widukind could speak of 'pillars of Hercules' with reference to the Irminsul, may not a Romanised German of the first century have been capable of using the same expression?

Perhaps it may be thought that this rumour is too insecure a foundation to build upon. There is however another conclusion at which we may arrive with somewhat greater confidence. We have seen that the names *Suebi* and *Marsi*, if not *Vandilii* also, appear to be connected with religious confederacies. In the case of the Istaeuones, Inguaeones and Hermiones we have no evidence for such confederacies. Yet if the name *Hermiones* has anything whatever to do with religion—which is *a priori* probable—we are surely not justified in rejecting the single piece of evidence at our disposal which serves to connect it with a religious observance. But if we do admit a connection between the Irminsul and the Hermiones, we must allow either that the Saxons themselves belonged to the Hermiones or that they had taken the cult over from a 'Hermionic' tribe. Now the district about Marsberg was inhabited in the earliest times for which we have records by the Marsi or the Cherusci, later apparently by the Chatti. There is no evidence that it was ever occupied by a Suebic tribe. Consequently if there is any connection between the Irminsul and the Hermiones we may conclude that the identification of the latter with the Suebi is erroneous.

The hypothesis that the cult had been taken over by the Saxons from the earlier inhabitants of the district is favoured to some extent by the fact that Pliny includes both the Cherusci and the Chatti among the Hermiones. We may farther note that according to Tacitus, *Ann.* II. 12, the former possessed a grove sacred to Hercules, which on one occasion at least served as a meeting-place for the neighbouring tribes. We have no evidence however that they practised a pillar-cult. In favour of the Saxon hypotheses stands the apparently national character of the cult; against it Pliny's definition of the Hermiones as *mediterranei*, though personally I regard

this definition as less trustworthy than the rumour in *Germ.* 34. On the whole the most probable conclusion seems to me to be that, though the place where the Irminsul stood may have been an old sanctuary, the association of the pillar-cult with Irmin-Hercules was Saxon from the beginning, and consequently that the Saxons as well as the Cherusci belonged to the Hermiones.

Ing and Yngvi.

Apart from the Frankish genealogy and the references to Hercules given above we find no mention of a god or hero named Irmin. The evidence for a person named Ing is somewhat more satisfactory. Indeed some reminiscence of him seems to have survived in England until late in the Middle Ages[1]. One of the letters in the Runic alphabet bears his name, and the same name (*enguz*) has been transferred to one of the letters of the Gothic alphabet. In the Anglo-Saxon Runic poem the following account is given: "Ing was first seen by men among the East Danes, but subsequently he departed eastwards over the sea, a car speeding after him. This was the name given to the hero by the Heardingas." In this passage it is clear that *Ing* is a personal name, and also that the person so designated belonged to Denmark. Elsewhere in Anglo-Saxon literature the name does not occur. In Beowulf however we find the expressions *eodor Ingwina*, 'defence (lit. palisade) of the Ingwine,' and *frea Ingwina*, 'lord of the Ingwine,' once each (ll. 1045, 1320). The name *Ingwine* is regarded by some as a compound word, lit. 'friends of Ing,' and by others as a form related to *Inguaeones*. In any case however it is to be observed that both these expressions are applied to the king of the Danes—a fact which specially deserves notice in connection with the account of Ing in the Runic poem.

In Old Norse literature we find no forms exactly corresponding either to Ing or to Ingwine, though Saxo (p. 224) speaks of a king of the Götar named Unguinus. The name *Yngvi* (*Ingi*) however, which seems to be merely an extended form of *Ing* and identical with the *Inguo* (*Ingo*) of the Frankish genealogy, occurs fairly often in both legendary and historical

[1] Cf. Robert of Brunne's Chronicle, fol. 85.

times. We may note specially that it is a name of Frey, the national god of the Swedes and the reputed ancestor of their royal family. In Ynglinga Saga, cap. 20, it is stated that not only the god himself but every one of his descendants individually was called Yngvi or Inguni, while collectively they were known as Ynglingar. The god himself was also called Yngvifreyr and Ingunarfreyr, the latter of which is a somewhat curious form. If we divide it as *Ingunar-freyr* it can hardly have meant originally anything else than 'lord (husband?) of Ingun,' the latter being presumably a feminine proper name. More usually[1] it is regarded as a contraction of *Inguna-árfreyr*, which would mean literally 'bounty-lord of the Ingunar (or Ingunir).' This explanation at any rate agrees with the fact that it was mainly for bounty or abundance (*til árs*) that Frey was worshipped, while at the same time it will serve to bring the whole term into connection with the expression *frea Ingwina* in Beowulf. To this question however we shall have to return later.

It is to be observed that there is a curious discrepancy between the English and Scandinavian evidence in regard to the use of these *Ing-* forms. In the North not only do we find the ancient kings of Sweden bearing the title 'Ynglingar'; the cult of Frey itself seems to be of Swedish origin. It was indeed known in Norway, especially in the Throndhjem Fiord, and carried thence to Iceland when that island was colonised. But there appears to have been a belief that it had originally been imported from Sweden. Thus the royal family of Norway, who likewise called themselves Ynglingar, claimed to be descended from the ancient dynasty of Sweden. We may refer also to a speech attributed to King Olaf Tryggvason (Flateyiarbók, I. 402 ff.), where an account is given of the origin of the cult. This account agrees very well with the story given in Yngl. Saga 12, according to which Frey was the founder of Upsala. The two passages, however, are not entirely independent. In Denmark we have no evidence that Frey was worshipped at all. Saxo mentions Frey (Frö) five times in the course of his History, but on every one of these occasions

[1] Cf. especially Kock, *Historisk Tidskrift*, XV. 167.

it is in connection with Sweden or Swedish heroes. Two references occur in the story of the battle of Brávík (p. 260). Certain Swedish warriors in Ringo's army are said to have belonged to the household of the god Frey; and again others are said to have traced their descent from the god Frey. In a third passage (p. 30) it is stated that Hadingus, a mythical king of the Danes, having killed an unknown sea-monster, offered a sacrifice to Frey in order to propitiate the deities. He ordained this sacrifice to be a permanent institution, recurring at regular intervals. "It is called Fröblod by the Swedes." Again (p. 74 f.), Frey, the satrap of the gods, took up his abode near Upsala and instituted a new method of sacrifice to the gods by offering human victims. Lastly (p. 185), Starcatherus stays seven years in Sweden with the sons of Frey until the proceedings at Upsala at the time of the sacrifices drive him away in disgust. In every passage then Saxo seems to regard Frey as essentially a Swedish god; for *Fröblod* is probably the name of the great festival at Upsala. Both Norwegian and Danish tradition therefore point to Sweden, and especially Upsala, as the original home of the cult.

On the other hand we have seen that in the English authorities both Ing and the Ingwine belong to Denmark. In Beowulf the Swedish royal family is frequently mentioned, but no such name as Ynglingar is ever applied to them. They are invariably called Scylfingas, a name of which we find only the barest mention in Old Norse literature. How these discrepancies are to be explained is far from clear. It is possible of course that in spite of the silence of Beowulf traditions connected with the name *Ing* or *Yngvi* were always known to the Swedes. On the other hand it is perhaps not inconceivable that these traditions may have made their way into Sweden in later times.

But, whatever may be the true explanation of these discrepancies, the evidence of the native traditions as a whole clearly tends to confirm Pliny's statement that the tribes inhabiting the Baltic coasts belonged to the Inguaeones. Against this we have no traditional evidence to support his statement that the Chauci belonged to the same group. If both the Saxons and the Cherusci really belonged to the Her-

miones we should hardly expect to find an intermediate tribe with different affinities. A geographical displacement of this kind might of course have been brought about by migration; and as a matter of fact there is reason for believing that a good deal of movement towards the west had taken place during the centuries immediately before the Christian era. In such questions however we can hardly get beyond speculation. The important point is that by native tradition—assuredly the most trustworthy class of evidence which we possess in such matters—the name *Ingvaeones* is connected with the peoples of the Baltic, and with them alone.

CHAPTER X.

THE CULT OF NERTHUS.

We have already had occasion to refer more than once to a passage in the *Germania* (cap. 40) which contains the earliest reference to our nation. It will be convenient now to give this passage in full: "Next (after the Langobardi) come the Reudigni, the Auiones, the Anglii, the Varini, the Eudoses, the Suarines and the Nuithones, all of whom are protected by rivers or forests. There is nothing remarkable about any of these tribes except that they have a common worship of Nerthus, that is Mother Earth, and believe that she intervenes in human affairs and visits the nations in her car. On an island in the ocean there is a sacred grove, and within it a consecrated car covered with a garment. One priest alone is permitted to touch it. He is able to perceive when the goddess is present in her sanctuary, and accompanies her with the utmost reverence as she is drawn along by cows. It is a season of rejoicing, and festivity reigns wherever she deigns to go and be received. They do not undertake hostilities or take up arms; every weapon is put away; peace and quiet are then only known and welcomed, until the goddess, weary of human intercourse, is at length restored by the same priest to her temple. Afterwards the car, the garments, and, if you are willing to believe it, the deity herself, are cleansed in a secret lake. This rite is performed by slaves, who are instantly swallowed up by its waters. Hence arises a mysterious dread and a pious ignorance concerning the

nature of a thing which can be seen only by those who are to lose their lives forthwith[1]."

Notwithstanding the comparative fulness of the account several features of the cult are involved in complete obscurity. We must distinguish of course between things which were not matter of common knowledge and things which, though they must have been known, are not stated by Tacitus. To the first category belongs the form of the *numen*. We may probably infer from Tacitus' account that the car was believed to contain something—some representation or symbol, whether living or not, of the deity. But in regard to its nature it is obvious that we cannot get beyond speculation. So also with regard to the signs by which the priest was enabled to perceive that the goddess was present in her *penetrale*. It has been suggested that these signs may have been connected with the revival of vegetable life; but this cannot be regarded as more than a mere surmise. On the other hand the time at which the festival took place must have been known, though Tacitus has omitted to tell us. Indeed we can hardly conclude with certainty from his words that it was an annual festival.

The May tree.

There can be little doubt that the cult is connected with certain ceremonies which have been known both in ancient and modern times, and which appear to have been practised with a view to the increase of vegetable and animal life. A striking analogy is afforded by the cult of Cybele, whose festival at Rome is indeed believed by some writers to have coloured the account given here by Tacitus.

[1] *Reudigni deinde et Auiones et Angli et Varini et Eudoses et Suarines et Nuithones fluminibus aut siluis muniuntur. nec quicquam notabile in singulis nisi quod in commune Nerthum id est Terram matrem colunt eamque interuenire rebus hominum, inuehi populis arbitrantur. est in insula Oceani castum nemus dicatumque in eo uehiculum ueste contectum. attingere uni sacerdoti concessum. is adesse penetrali deam intelligit uectamque bubus feminis multa cum ueneratione prosequitur. laeti tunc dies, festa loca, quaecunque aduentu hospitioque dignatur. non bella ineunt, non arma sumunt; clausum omne ferrum; pax et quies tunc tantum nota, tunc tantum amata, donec idem sacerdos satiatam conuersatione mortalium deam templo reddat. mox uehiculum et uestes et si credere uelis numen ipsum secreto lacu abluitur. serui ministrant quos statim idem lacus haurit. arcanus hinc terror sanctaque ignorantia quid sit illud quod tantum perituri uident.*

Still closer than this however is the parallel supplied by a passage in Gregory of Tours, *De gloria Confessorum*, cap. 77: "They say that there was once an image of Berecynthia in this city (Autun), as the history of the passion of the holy martyr Symphorianus relates. Bishop Simplicius was present when they were carrying this about on a waggon to secure the welfare of their fields and vineyards, according to the wretched custom of the heathen, and saw them at no great distance singing and playing in front of the waggon.....When he made the sign of the cross the image straightway fell to the ground and the beasts which were drawing the waggon on which it was carried were unable to proceed. The immense crowd was amazed, and all shouted that the goddess had been injured. Victims were sacrificed and the draught-animals were beaten, but yet they were unable to move. Then four hundred of the foolish crowd gathered together and said: 'If the deity has any power let her arise of her own accord and order the oxen which are fixed to the ground to proceed,'" etc. Simplicius lived during the latter part of the fourth century. It is possible that the cult of the Eastern goddess Berecynthia (Cybele) had been somewhat affected by native (Celtic) influence at Autun[1]. But, however this may be, the story presents a sufficiently striking resemblance to Tacitus' account of the festival of Nerthus. If we had more detailed information we should perhaps find further points of similarity. At all events we are told by Sulpicius Severus (*Vita S. Martini*, cap. 9) that it was the custom of the peasants in Gaul to carry round their fields images of devils covered with white curtains.

Again several features of the cult—the covered car drawn by oxen, the welcome extended to it by the places which it visits, and the immersion at the end of the ceremony—all these actually occur in the popular festivals of northern Europe. But the theory that the cult has a specially close connection with May Day and Whitsuntide festivals seems to me not to have been sufficiently made out. In the latter we do find the May tree

[1] It is clear, however, as Mr Frazer has pointed out to me, from details given in the Passio S. Symphoriani, cap. 6 (cf. Ruinart, *Acta Martyrum Sincera et Selecta*, 1713, p. 82), that the deity worshipped at Autun really was Cybele.

brought in festal procession from the woods. But the resemblance in this case is only superficial, for Nerthus' car was kept in a sacred grove and replaced there when the festival was ended—a proceeding for which the May ceremonies present no analogy. The waggon which bears the May tree is seldom covered, while immersion whether of the tree or the waggon is quite exceptional. Again, the May tree, when it has been decked out, remains fixed in one place as long as the festival lasts. It is not taken round from village to village, and seldom even from house to house. Above all Tacitus' account leaves no room for doubt that the worshippers themselves were not aware that the car contained a tree, or indeed any vegetable substance.

Perhaps the nearest analogy among these May ceremonies is the Russian custom practised on the day called Semik, i.e. the Thursday in Whitsun week (cf. Mannhardt, *Baumkultus*, p. 157). On this day the peasants repair to the woods and cut down a young birch which they dress as a woman. They hold a banquet in front of it, and the girls recite verses which speak of offerings made to the tree. It is then brought to the village and set up in some house where it is treated as an honoured guest for three days. Similar customs however are known at other times of the year. Among the Slavs of the lower Elbe (*ib.* p. 174) an oak used to be set up on July 2. This oak was brought from the forest on a waggon drawn by oxen and covered during its journey with the men's cloaks, so that it could not be seen. In some parts of Russia (*ib.* p. 414 f.) a straw figure called Kostroma is dressed as a woman, decked with flowers and laid in a trough. It is then carried to the bank of a stream where after a mock fight it is torn to pieces and thrown into the water. Those who have tried to rescue it then begin to lament the death of Kostroma. Even in Teutonic lands we find the customs of May Day closely paralleled in rural festivals at other times of the year, especially in connection with the ingathering of the harvest[1].

[1] Cf. Mannhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 190 ff., *Myth. Forsch.* pp. 326 f., 333.

Plough Monday.

The Gaulish rites mentioned above remind us of certain ceremonies practised in the winter among Teutonic peoples, a trace of which is preserved in the name 'Plough Monday,' applied to the first Monday after Epiphany. On this day it was formerly customary for the youths of the village to drag a plough about from house to house, soliciting contributions. They were dressed in white shirts and decked out with ribbons, and often known as 'Plough bullocks.' One of them was often got up to represent an old woman with long nose and chin and called Old Bessy, while another, the fool, was dressed in skins and wore a long calf's tail. In Cheshire the custom is known to have been practised on the eve of Epiphany[1]. In the evening the plough was brought into a barn; a sword-dance was held round the plough, on which Old Bessy and the fool were seated, and the proceedings ended with a feast. Similar customs are known in Germany, where however they took place during the spring, sometimes about the beginning of Lent or at Easter. In some cases the plough was drawn by unmarried girls. At the end of its journey it used often to be burned or thrown into a stream[2]. Among the Slavonic inhabitants of Carinthia the plough is dragged round the borders of the fields, and this is thought to be the most primitive form of the custom[3].

The connection between these practices and the procession of Berecynthia at Autun lies not so much in the character of the ceremonies themselves as in the motives by which they seem to have been inspired. According to the generally received opinion the object of plough-ceremonies originally was to secure the fertility of the fields, the immersion and burning of the plough being regarded as charms for rain and sunshine respectively[4]. In certain cases indeed there are features—we may note es-

[1] Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, *Das festliche Jahr*[2], p. 37 f.

[2] Mannhardt, *Baumkultus*, p. 553 ff.

[3] *Ib.* p. 556.

[4] *Ib.* pp. 554, 564. Praetorius (*Deliciae Prussicae*, p. 55; cf. p. 60), after describing how people were immersed at what seems to have been a corresponding ceremony in Prussia, adds: "dies bedeutet dass Gott zu rechter Zeit der Saat genug Wasser geben möge."

pecially the songs used at these ceremonies in the island of Alsen[1]—which point to the fertilisation of animal, and even human, as well as vegetable life. So in an English reference which dates from the year 1493[2] we hear of "the ledingh of the ploughe aboute the fire as for gode beginning of the yere that they schulde fare the better all the yere followyng." It is worth observing that similar ceremonies are practised in Russia as a charm against pestilence[3]. The time at which the ceremonies take place in Teutonic lands points to a connection with the New Year. This is clearly shown by the English example quoted above. In Denmark the day chosen for these ceremonies is January 1. Even in Germany the days for which the practice is known in various districts are generally such as have been used at one time or another for the beginning of the year. In a single case, dating from 1530, at Ülm, we hear of processions with ploughs and boats during Advent[4].

We have seen that the procession at Autun bears, in some respects at least, a striking resemblance to the festival of Nerthus. It is not an unreasonable conjecture therefore that the two festivals may have had a similar object in view. Unfortunately we are not told in either case at what time of the year the festival took place. From the analogy of the plough-ceremonies however it seems quite as likely that they were connected with the New Year as with the coming of summer. Of course I do not mean to suggest that the plough-ceremonies present any close resemblance to the festival of Nerthus as described by Tacitus. Indeed we find no mention of the plough anywhere among the scanty references to heathen Teutonic ritual which have come down to us. But it is worth noting that the boat, which is mentioned beside the plough in the Ülm case given above, does

[1] Mannhardt, *ib.* p. 558; cf. especially the lines:

med lange Rug paa Jolde
og favre Foler i Stolde,
med Fisk udi vor Fänge
og smukke Piger i Senge,
saa Vuggen den kan gange
med deilige Börn og mange etc.

[2] *Ib.* p. 553 f.; Brand, *Observations on the Popular Antiquities of Great Britain* (1849), 1. p. 506.

[3] Mannhardt, *ib.* p. 561 f.

[4] *Ib.* p. 555.

seem to have been used symbolically. In *Germ.* 9 Tacitus says that "some of the Suebi also sacrifice to Isis. How and whence this foreign rite came into use I have not been able to ascertain, though the fact that the symbol itself is shaped after the model of a light galley, shows that the cult has been imported." We are not told whether the *pars Sueborum* mentioned here is the same as the *pars Sueborum* in cap. 41. Certainly we must not assume that the *numen* of cap. 40 was a boat, for we are expressly told that its form was unknown. Yet it is at all events worth noting that the boat was apparently the symbol of a female deity who was identified by the Greeks with Demeter and who might quite well be described as 'Mother Earth[1].'

If we turn now to the records of Scandinavian mythology it is a remarkable fact that we do find a deity bearing a name, *Niörðr*, which is identical with Nerthus. This deity however is a male, and what we are told of him does not exactly correspond to what we should expect to be the characteristics of Nerthus. According to Gylfaginning 23 he rules over the course of the wind and calms the sea and fire. He is to be invoked for the purpose of travelling by sea and fishing. He is so wealthy and possesses so much money (cattle) that he can give possessions both in land and moveables to whomsoever he wishes. He is to be invoked for this purpose. Elsewhere (Vafþruðnismál 38 f., Ynglinga Saga 4, etc.) it is stated that Niörðr did not originally belong to the Aesir, the divine tribe ruled by Othin, but to a tribe named Vanir, and that he was given as a hostage to the Aesir together with his son Frey and his daughter Freyia. According to Yngl. S. 11 Niörðr succeeded on Othin's death to the government of the gods, and his reign was marked by such peace and plenty that the Swedes believed he had control over these blessings.

The god Frey.

Among the references to the religious rites of the heathen Scandinavians there is one which is generally agreed to have an important bearing on Tacitus' account of the cult of Nerthus; and it is curious to note that this rite

[1] Cf. Servius ad Aen. VIII. 696: *Isis autem lingua Aegyptiorum est Terra, quam uolunt esse*; cf. Dieterich, *Mutter Erde*, p. 83 ff. (a reference for which I have to thank Mr A. B. Cook).

was connected not with Niörðr, but with his son Frey. The story in question occurs in the Saga of Olaf Tryggvason, cap. 173[1]. A Norwegian named Gunnarr Helmingr who had been accused of manslaughter fled to Sweden and took refuge at the sanctuary of the god Frey. This sanctuary possessed an image of the god which was able to speak, and was under the charge of a young and beautiful woman who was regarded as the god's wife. Gunnarr succeeded in ingratiating himself with the priestess, but was not looked upon with favour by the god himself. When winter came the god had to set out with his wife on a car in order to bring about an abundant season for men (*gera mönnum árbót*). A large crowd accompanied them. Their journey lay along a mountain road and they were overtaken by so severe a storm that the car was unable to make any progress, and all its attendants except Gunnarr deserted it. Gunnarr struggled on for a while at the priestess' entreaties, but at last, when he was becoming exhausted, he sat down in the car. The priestess told him that Frey was angry and asked him to continue leading the beast[2]. He did so for a while and then said he must risk the god's anger. Then Frey came down from the car and the two struggled together. Gunnarr began to feel that he was getting the worst of it and made a vow that if he should succeed in overcoming the god he would go back to Norway, make his peace with King Olaf and return to the true faith. Then he succeeded in felling the god; the evil spirit flew out of the image, and Gunnarr broke the latter in pieces. The priestess consented to give out that he was the god, and he put on the god's clothes. Then they mounted the car, the weather took up, and they arrived at the place where a feast had been prepared for the god. The people marvelled greatly at the god's power in coming unaided through such a storm and noted how he was now able to walk about with other men and to eat and drink like them, though he spoke little except to his wife. They spent the winter moving from one feast to another. The

[1] Fornmanna Sögur; Flateyiarbók, I. p. 337 ff.

[2] The car was drawn by a single beast, which is once (only in the Fornm. S. text) called *hestr*, 'horse'; elsewhere the word used in both texts is *eykr*, 'draught-animal' (horse or ox). The use of *hestr* may therefore be due to an oversight.

god would have no sacrifices, but was ready to receive gold and other treasure. In course of time it was observed that the god's wife was with child, which was regarded as a good sign. The weather was mild and everything seemed to bode well for the harvest. The god's fame began to be noised abroad and came even to the ears of King Olaf in Norway. He suspected that Gunnarr was personating the god, and in the spring sent his brother to him with an offer of pardon in order to induce him to return. On receiving this message Gunnarr and the god's wife made their escape secretly, taking with them as much treasure as they could.

The time at which Frey's peregrinations began is not clearly indicated. But it cannot have been during the spring, for Gunnarr is represented as spending the winter at feasts. Presumably then the journey began either in the autumn or early in the winter. Now the ancient Scandinavians are said to have had three great annual festivals[1]. One was at midwinter and is called in Yngl. S. 8 a sacrifice for the increase of vegetation (*til gróðrar*)[2]. Another was about the beginning of summer and is said to have been a sacrifice for victory (*til sigrs*). The third was at 'the winter nights,' *i.e.* the beginning of winter (about the middle of October). This last is represented as a sacrifice for plenty and peace (*til árs ok friðar*) or for the blessings of abundance (*til árbótar*). If, as is generally supposed, the Scandinavian year began originally in the autumn, the sacrifice at the winter nights may very well have been a New Year festival. We may note that the blessings of plenty and peace are those for which the god Frey, like his father Niörðr, is said to have been invoked[3]. Moreover on the one occasion on which we find a sacrifice to Frey exactly dated it took place at this time. The passage in question (Gísla S. Súrssonar, p. 27) refers to an Icelander, Thórgrímr, surnamed Freysgoði ('priest of Frey'), who lived

[1] Cf. Yngl. S. 8, St. Olaf's S. (Heimskringla) 115, 123; with the last of these may be compared the Söguþáttr af Hákoni Hárekssyni, cap. 1. (Fornm. S. XI. p. 422).

[2] The distinction drawn between this expression (which occurs only in the passage specified) and *til árs* is not easy to understand. In St. Olaf's S. 114 the midwinter sacrifice is said to be 'for peace and a good winter.'

[3] Cf. Yngl. S. 12f., Hákonar S. Góða 16, etc.

about the middle of the tenth century, and states that he had a house-party in the autumn, at the winter nights, to greet the winter and to sacrifice to Frey. On the whole then we need scarcely hesitate to believe that the festivities in which Gunnarr Helmingr took part probably began in the autumn, though they may have lasted throughout the winter.

Now it is worth noting that both in England and Sweden November was called the 'month of sacrifice' (*blotmonaŏ*, *blotmänad*), which seems to indicate that religious ceremonies were connected with the slaughtering of superfluous stock before the winter. On the Continent we find Widukind (I. 12) describing the first days of October as *dies erroris* on account of the celebrations practised in connection with the Irminsul. Indeed the evidence for religious gatherings at this season goes back to the earliest times. Tacitus only once gives us the means of determining the time of a Teutonic festival, namely that of the Marsi described in *Ann.* I. 50 f., and it is clear from the context that this took place during the month of October. We may further note that according to Mathias a Michov[1] the chief religious meeting of the Prussians was held on the first of October. Other writers however, Alexander Guagninus and Lasicius[2], say that the great Prussian festival took place towards the end of the month. They quote moreover certain invocations which were addressed at this festival to Ziemiennik, an 'earth-god[3],' and which seem to point to the beginning of a new year. On the whole then I think we may conclude—in the absence of any indication on the part of Tacitus—that both these Continental analogies and the evidence for the Scandinavian cult of Frey tell in favour of the view that the festival of Nerthus began during the autumn.

We do not know whether any noteworthy ceremonies were intended to take place at the close of the festivities described in the story of Gunnarr Helmingr, for Gunnarr seems to have fled while the festivities were still in progress. The general resemblance however which the story bears to Tacitus' account of

[1] Grynaeus, *Nouus Orbis Regionum*, etc. (Bâle, 1532), p. 520.
[2] Respublica Poloniae, Lituaniae etc. (Leyden, 1642), pp. 258f., 283f.
[3] Cf. Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 105.

Nerthus leads us to infer that the two festivals belonged to the same class of cult. The identity of the names Nerthus and Niörðr even tends to show a historical connection between the two cults, in which case we must of course suppose that Frey has taken the place of his father. It is to be observed that the name *Frey-r* seems originally to have been an epithet, 'lord,' perhaps an abbreviation for *Yngvifreyr* or *Ingunarfreyr* (cf. p. 231). Again, the characters of the two gods are in general somewhat similar, though Frey is far more frequently mentioned. In Skáldskaparmál 7 he is described as *árguð*, 'god of plenty,' and *fégiafi*, which may be translated 'giver of moveable property.' But the original meaning of *fé* was undoubtedly 'livestock'; in Iceland it was used specially of sheep. The word *ár* has two meanings, *annus* and *annona*. Most frequently it is used to denote the produce of the season[1], though from this it comes to be applied also to prosperity in general. Thus when Frey is said to make his journey for the purpose of bringing about an abundant season or abundant crops for men (*gera mönnum árbót*) the idea is practically the same as when 'Berecynthia' is carried about at Autun *pro saluatione agrorum ac uinearum*. Taken together the two terms *árguð* and *fégiafi* seem to represent Frey as the god who gives to men increase both of vegetable and animal life.

In Ynglinga Saga Frey is represented as ruling over the Swedes in succession to his father Niörðr. His reign was blessed with peace and plenty beyond measure. When he died his body was carried secretly into a great barrow and the fact of his death was not made known for three years. The tribute-money was still taken as before and poured into the barrow. After three years the Swedes became aware that he was dead, but since plenty and peace still continued they believed that such would be the case as long as Frey was in Sweden. Therefore they would not burn him in accordance with Othin's ordinances; but they called him *veraldar goð* and sacrificed to him for peace and plenty ever afterwards. The expression *veraldar goð* is probably to be translated 'god of human life,' and may perhaps

[1] In Jómsvíkinga S. 3 (Fornm. S. XI. p. 8) *ár* is used as a synonym for *korn ok önnur gaezka*, 'corn and other good things.'

be explained by a passage in Adam of Bremen's History, IV. 26. Speaking of the great temple at Upsala Adam says that it contained the images of three gods, Thor, Wodan (Othin) and Fricco, by which name he almost certainly means Frey. Fricco he describes as the giver of peace and pleasure to mankind. He says also that his representation was phallic and that he was invoked at marriages[1]. It is worth noting in this connection that the only surviving poem (Skirnismál) which deals primarily with Frey represents him as wholly abandoned to passionate love for the giantess Gerðr.

The account given of Frey in Gylfaginning, cap. 24, is as follows: "Frey is the most excellent of the gods. He governs the rain and the shining of the sun and thereby also the increase of the earth. On him it is good to call for plenty and peace. He governs also the wealth (*fésaela*, orig. 'wealth in livestock') of men." On the strength of this passage it has been supposed that Frey was originally a sky-god or sun-god. But the attributes mentioned here are rather those of a being who grants fertility both to vegetable and animal life. The blessings which he gives are identical indeed with those which the leading of the plough seems to have been intended to secure. For the latter, as we have seen (p. 238 f.), were not limited to the fructification of the fields. They were connected also with the fertility of animal, and even human life.

That the cult of Nerthus was likewise connected with the fructification of vegetable or animal life or both may be inferred from Tacitus' description of the goddess as *Terra Mater*, and also from the resemblance which the cult bears to that of 'Berecynthia' at Autun as well as to that of Cybele at Rome and elsewhere. Yet, even if we allow that Frey may be only a secondary form of Niörðr, there still remains a serious difficulty in the way of identifying the two cults. Both Niörðr and Frey are male divinities, while Nerthus is a female. It is to this difficulty that we must now turn our attention.

[1] *tertius est Fricco, pacem uoluptatemque largiens mortalibus; cuius etiam simulacrum finguntur cum ingenti priapo.....si nuptiae celebrandae sunt, Fricconi (libatur).*

The goddess Freyia.

In the first place we may observe that Niörðr has, in addition to his son Frey, a daughter named Freyia who is a sort of female counterpart of her brother. According to Gylf. 24, "Freyia is the most excellent of the goddesses. She has a dwelling in heaven which is called Folkvangr, and when she rides to battle she receives half the slain, while the other half go to Othin. Her palace, Sessrúmnir, is large and beautiful, and when she travels she sits in a carriage drawn by cats. She is most accessible to invocations from men.....and delights in love-songs. It is good to call upon her for erotic purposes." A number of love adventures are recorded of her. According to Yngl. S. 4 Freyia was a sacrificial priestess and was the first to introduce among the Aesir the practice of *seiðr* (sorcery), which was customary among the Vanir. In a later passage (cap. 13) she is said to have succeeded Frey in the government of the Swedes. Her connection with the future life appears again in Egils S. Skallagrímssonar, cap. 78, where Thorgerðr, Egill's daughter, says that she will not taste food again until she is with Freyia, *i.e.* until she is dead.

The only poem concerned primarily with Freyia is Hyndlulióð, the subject of which is as follows. A certain man named Óttarr the son of Innsteinn, who has built Freyia a shrine and honoured her with sacrifices, has a dispute with a rival in regard to succession to an inheritance. Freyia, accompanied by her boar, comes to visit the giantess Hyndla and asks her to recite the pedigree of Óttarr, whom she calls her husband. Hyndla recounts the names of many famous heroes, and at the close Freyia asks her to give the 'ale of remembrance' (*minnisöl*) to her boar, so that he may recall all that has been said when he comes to meet his rival. The boar therefore is Óttarr in disguise, a fact which has been suspected by Hyndla throughout. The poem thus affords a curious parallel to the story of Gunnarr Helmingr. Just as in the latter Frey's priestess is called his wife, so here Freyia's priest is called her husband.

Owing to the fact that the sagas contain but few references to any cult of Freyia it has been assumed by many modern writers that this deity was a product of the imagination of Norwegian and Icelandic poets towards the close of the heathen age. But

the comparative silence of the authorities may equally well be accounted for on the hypothesis that the cult was becoming antiquated. It is worth noting that with the exception of Thorgerðr Hölgabrúðr, whose cult seems to have belonged to the north of Norway, Freyia is the only female being of whose worship we find any mention at all in Old Norse literature. Yet the works of Tacitus contain several references to the worship of goddesses. Hence we are led rather to infer that the importance of the female divinities had decreased in the course of time.

Is it possible that Frey was a later form of Nerthus and that Freyia represents an intermediate stage? An analogy for such a change of sex is perhaps to be found on the opposite side of the Baltic. Praetorius frequently refers to the cult of an 'earth-goddess' named Zemynele[1], who grants fertility to the fields (*Deliciae Prussicae*, p. 66) and receives the souls of the dead (*ib.* p. 101 ff.). In another passage (p. 7) we hear of *Zamoluksei* (dat.) 'd. i. der Erdgöttin,' who seems to be the same being. But we find also a male *Ziameluks*, "ein Herr oder Gott der Erden und derer die in der Erde begraben worden." This god also seems to have had more than one name, for he can hardly be a different person from the Ziemiennik to whom we have already had occasion to refer (p. 243). Again, Praetorius speaks also of a god called Zemepattys or Zempattys (p. 66): "die Nadraven, Zalavonen u. s. w. meinen dass in der Erde was Göttliches stecket, nennen es Zempattys als männliche und Zemynele als weibliche Gottheit." For the relationship between the two deities we may compare p. 31: "die Zemynele die auch Zemyna, item Zemynylena genennet wird, wird gehalten vor des Zemepatys Schwester." The parallelism with Frey-Freyia is therefore somewhat close. But the conception of the earth-deity as female is surely to be regarded as the more original form.

Again, it is worth noting that the cult of Frey has certain characteristics which elsewhere are usually associated with goddesses. Among many nations the worship of the goddess of

[1] This name is a diminutive of Lith. *Žemýna*, 'earth-goddess,' and clearly related to *žẽmė*, 'earth.'

fertility is connected with a religious regard for the pig. As an example we may take Tacitus' account of the Aestii, the ancient inhabitants of the coast of Prussia, a people whom he represents as more devoted to agriculture[1] than any other tribe in Germany. He says (*Germ.* 45) that "they worship the Mother of the gods. The distinguishing mark of their cult is that they wear the shapes of wild boars. This serves for armour and a protection in all things, rendering the worshipper of the goddess safe even among foes."

Now the same symbol, the boar, was widely used in the North in heathen times. Indeed it was perhaps the commonest form of ornament on the helmets of ancient Scandinavian warriors. An example of a helmet with a boar upon it has been found at Benty Grange, near Monyash in Derbyshire. Further, pictorial representations of such helmets are to be seen on a bronze plate found at Björnhofda in Öland and on a helmet discovered at Vendel near Upsala. Mention may also be made of the figures on the silver bowl found at Gundestrup, which is supposed to date from very early times[2]. Several allusions to the figures of boars on helmets occur in Beowulf (ll. 303, 1112 f., 1287, 1454), and we need have no hesitation in believing that the helmet called Hildigöltr ('battle-boar'), which belonged to King Aðils (Skáldsk. 44), was of this form. Another helmet called Hildisvín ('battle-pig') was taken by the same king from his opponent, King Áli, who according to Beowulf was his uncle and predecessor. But the emblem was not confined to helmets. One of the gifts presented to Beowulf by King Hrothgar, in reward for his services, was a standard in the form of a golden boar's head (Beow. 1022, 2153). Again, one of the treasures which Hrólfr Kraki's knights required of King Aðils in return for the services they had rendered him was a 'gold ring,' a precious heirloom in his family (Skáldsk. 44). This ring, which

[1] The pig is a common form of the corn-spirit both in Germany and the Baltic Provinces; see Mannhardt, *Myth. Forsch.*, p. 186 f.; Frazer, *The Golden Bough*[2], II. 284 ff. Cf. also Praetorius, *op. cit.*, p. 55. Particularly it should be noticed that in Oesel the last sheaf is called *ruggi orrikas*, 'roggeneber' (Mannhardt, *l.c.*, note).

[2] This example cannot be regarded as certain, for some of the other figures on the bowl point to its being of Gaulish origin or at least a copy of a Gaulish work.

Saxo (p. 55) describes as an enormously heavy necklace, was called Svíagríss, 'the sucking-pig of the Swedes.'

It can hardly be supposed that these figures were designed for a purely ornamental purpose. We are reminded of the *effigies et signa* which according to Tacitus (*Germ.* 7) were kept by the ancient Germans in their sacred groves and carried by the priests into battle, and again of the *depromptae siluis lucisque ferarum imagines* which Civilis' German auxiliaries had brought with them (*Hist.* IV. 22). From the analogy of the usage of the Aestii we may infer that the boar was the symbol of the deity under whose protection the warrior believed himself to be. In the case of the Swedish kings, among whom the use of the boar-emblem seems to have been especially common[1], we need hardly hesitate to believe that this was Frey (or Freyia), the deity from whom they traced their descent. Nor is confirmatory evidence wanting. Both Frey and Freyia are said to have possessed golden or gold-breasted boars, which had been made for them by the dwarfs (Hyndl. 7, Gylf. 49, Skáldsk. 35). The one belonging to Freyia was called Hildisvíni, with which we may compare the name of King Áli's helmet. Again, in the Saga Heiðreks konungs ens vitra, cap. 10, it is related that a boar was sacrificed to Frey at Yule. This boar was called *sónargöltr* ('boar of the herd') and was the largest which could be found. Vows were made over its breast. In one text of Hervarar S. ok Heiðreks, cap. 14, where the same incident is described, the boar was given to Freyia.

It is possible that the boat was another symbol of the god Frey. At all events we are told (Gylf. 43, Skáldsk. 35) that the dwarfs had made for him a boat called Skiðblaðnir which would hold all the gods and yet might be folded up in so small a compass that he could put it in his wallet. We have already noticed that the emblem of the Suebic goddess 'Isis,' who is perhaps to be identified with Nerthus, was a boat and also that there is some evidence for the use of boats in plough ceremonies.

[1] It is worth noting that in Hrólfs S. Kraka 43 Hrólfr and his men while staying at Upsala are attacked by a boar, or rather by an irresistible demon in the form of a boar, which Aðils has sent against them. Throughout this saga Aðils is represented as a wizard.

Both these symbols tend to connect the cult of Frey with those of female deities. It may be urged however that Frey is not only a god of fertility—a characteristic which may satisfactorily account for his possessing symbols which elsewhere belong to goddesses—but that he is also the ancestor of a kingly family. This family, as we have already seen, was that of the Ynglingar, the ancient dynasty of Sweden. But the name Ynglingar seems not to be of very great antiquity, for in Beowulf, where five kings or princes of this family are mentioned, no such term is ever applied to them. They are always called Scylfingas. Further, it is worth noting that a reminiscence of the same name is preserved in Ynglingatal, where Óttarr (Ohthere), the father of Aðils, is called Skilfingr. It would seem then that the name *Ynglingar* has taken the place of an earlier name *Skilfingar*[1]. Now, whatever may have been the real origin of this name[2], the analogy of the Skiöldungar (Scyldungas), the Danish royal family, who traced their descent from Skiöldr (Scyld), would lead us to expect that the Skilfingar (Scylfingas) claimed to be descended from an eponymous Skiálfr (Scylf). No such name however occurs[3]. But we do find two examples of the feminine name Skiálf. In the first place it is one of the names of the goddess Freyia herself (Skáldsk. 75). Secondly, it is that of one of the early Swedish queens, the wife of King Agni. The story connected with her is as follows. A certain king named Vísburr gave his wife three large farms and a gold necklace as a dowry, but subsequently divorced her and withheld his gifts. She had recourse to a sorceress named Huldr, who brought it about that the king was killed by his sons. At the

[1] This form occurs as the name of a family in Hyndlulióð and in several prose texts, but there seems to have been some doubt as to its application. According to Flat. I. 25 they belonged to Hörðaland in western Norway, while Skáldskaparmal, cap. 64, places them in the Baltic. It has been suggested that the Hörðaland family was really a branch of the Ynglingar; cf. J. Jónsson, *Ark. f. nord. Filol.*, XIX. 184ff.

[2] Originally it may have been derived from a place-name, possibly a place formerly called Loaskialf, near Upsala (cf. Läffler, *Ark. f. nord. Filol.*, X. 166ff.; Kock, *Hist. Tidskrift*, XV. 169).

[3] In Flat. I. 25 the Skilfingar of Hörðaland are said to have been descended from a man named Skelfir, but this seems to be a late and fictitious name. It is worth noting that in the corresponding genealogy in Skáldsk. 64 the names *Yngvi* and *Ynglingar* take the place of *Skelfir* and *Skilfingar*.

same time it was prophesied that this necklace should cause the death of the noblest of the king's descendants (Yngl. S. 17). Five generations later King Agni, the descendant of Vísburr, went harrying in Finland, slew the king Frosti, and carried off his son Logi and his daughter Skiálf as captives. He made Skiálf his wife and at her request gave a funeral banquet in honour of her father. The banquet was held in a tent under a high tree, and while it was in progress Skiálf exhorted the king to fasten securely the necklace which he was wearing. But when he had fallen into a drunken sleep she fastened a rope to the necklace, and her followers removed the tent-pegs and hanged the king on one of the branches of the tree. They then all escaped by ship (*ib.* 22).

It seems doubtful whether this story has been preserved in its original form. The necklace which plays so prominent a part in it may be identified with the 'ring' Svíagríss which we find later in the possession of King Aðils and which, we are told, had belonged to his ancestors. But it is to be observed that the most famous treasure of the goddess Freyia was likewise a gold necklace, the 'Brísinga men' (Thrymskviða 13 ff., Sörla Tháttr 1 f.). Another reminiscence of Freyia is perhaps to be found in the sorceress (*seiðkona*) Huldr, for sorcery (*seiðr*) was introduced by Freyia. The mischief wrought by Huldr upon the house of the Ynglingar does not stop with the two cases related above. Vísburr's father Vanlandi had also married a Finnish princess, Drífa the daughter of Sniár. He left her, promising to return in three years, but he did not come back within ten. Drífa then applied to Huldr who undertook either to bring Vanlandi back or else to kill him. Foiled by the Swedes in her attempt to bring him back, she compassed his death by means of a nocturnal goblin (Yngl. S. 16). We may note that Freyia also was deserted by her husband Óðr (Gylf. 35). Again the death of Dómaldi, Vísburr's son by a second wife, was due to the same sorceress. In consequence of a curse which she had imposed on him famine prevailed during his reign, and he was sacrificed by the Swedes in order that they might get better seasons (Yngl. S. 18). One of his descendants, Ólafr Trételgia, had a similar fate (*ib.* 47), and this fact suggests that the tragic ends of the early

Swedish kings may really have been due rather to a custom of kingly sacrifice than to unfortunate matrimonial alliances.

We have to remember that the name *Yngvi* was borne not only by the god himself but also by every member of the royal house (Yngl. S. 20), from which it may be inferred that these princes were regarded not merely as descendants but actually as representatives of the god. This fact must certainly be taken in connection with the sacrifices of kings noticed above, for we are told (Yngl. S. 47) that the Swedes attributed to their kings both plenty and famine. They were credited therefore with the same power as the god Frey[1]. The famine which arose in the time of Olafr Trételgia was thought to have been caused by that king's remissness in sacrificing. But this must not be assumed to mean that he was neglecting the worship of the gods; for the gods themselves are represented as engaged in sacrifice (Yngl. S. 2, 4 f., 11, 13). More probably the meaning is that the king could not or would not fertilise the earth—the purpose for which Frey peregrinated the country in later times. The same idea appears in a somewhat different form in the Saga of Halfdan the Black, cap. 9. Halfdan was a Norwegian king, descended in the fifth generation from Ólafr Trételgia, and his reign had been blessed with unparalleled prosperity. At his death a dispute arose between the four provinces of his kingdom for the possession of his body; for it was thought that the blessings of abundance would follow the district in which he was buried. The dispute is said to have been terminated eventually by quartering the body. It scarcely needs pointing out that the belief here expressed is identical with that which underlies the story of Frey's burial (cf. p. 244).

Again, the names *Frey(r)* and *Freyia* seem originally to have been titles, 'lord' and 'lady' (like *Adonis*, ἡ Δέσποινα) respectively. The name Frey(r) is perhaps an abbreviation of Yngvifreyr or Ingunarfreyr. But these may also have been titles of the Swedish kings, for they are clearly related in some way to *frea Ingwina*, the title borne by the king of the Danes in

[1] For the possession of similar powers—control over rain and sunshine—by kings and chiefs in modern times cf. Frazer, *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship*, pp. 110 f., 116 ff., 133 f.

Beowulf (cf. p. 230). So far as the names go, therefore, the personality of Frey may well have been derived from the early rulers of the Swedes. The reign of the sacred peace-kings is not necessarily a myth, for Tacitus (*Germ.* 44) records some very similar form of government as actually existing among the Swedes in his time. Again, we have seen (p. 231) that the compound *Ingunar-freyr* may be explained in two ways. The more obvious division of the word however is *Ingunar-freyr*, which would mean 'lord,' or perhaps 'husband, of Ingun,' if the latter is taken as a feminine name. Now since *Yngvi* is a name of Frey may not *Ingun* have been a name of Freyia? At all events we have seen that in Hyndlulióð a Norwegian prince is described as Freya's husband[1], just as in the story of Gunnarr Helmingr the priestess is called Frey's wife. What I would suggest then is that the sex-relations of deity and consort have been inverted and that the position of the Swedish kings as representatives of Frey was, like the god himself, a secondary development—that originally they were regarded as husbands of Freyia.

In this connection it is worth noting that according to a speech attributed to King Olaf Tryggvason (Flat. I. 402 ff.) the images of Frey at Throndhjem and in Sweden (presumably at Upsala) had not originally been made as representations of the god. So great had been the blessings enjoyed by the Swedes in Frey's reign that at his death it was desired that someone should be buried alive with him. But, since no one would consent to this, they made two wooden men and put them into the barrow with Frey, thinking that it would give him amusement to play with them. Robbers subsequently broke into the barrow and took out the two wooden figures. But before they could do more they were disturbed and had to make their escape empty-handed. The Swedes sent one of the figures to Throndhjem and kept the other themselves. Both were called Frey and honoured with worship. It would at all events be more in accordance with what we know of the cult in other respects if the deity and the figures were of different sexes.

[1] This case does not stand altogether isolated. In Flat. I. 407 f. Olaf Tryggvason is represented as using language which distinctly implies that Hákon, earl of Lade (d. 995), was regarded as the husband of Thorgerðr Hölgabrúðr, his special deity.

If Frey has taken the place of Freyia we should naturally expect that it was the queens and not the kings of the Swedes who were originally regarded as the representatives of the deity. This would account for the appearance of such names as *Vana* and *Skiálf* among the early queens. Again, if we are right in identifying the sorceress Huldr with Freyia, the intervention of this person on behalf of the queens would seem to suggest that they were believed to be under the special protection of the goddess. It may of course be objected that several of these queens are said to have been of Finnish origin. But such statements may surely be a reflection of later times, when exogamy had become the custom and when sorcery was generally associated with the Finns. We may note that among the Vanir, the tribe to which Niörðr and Frey belonged, marriages between brother and sister are said to have been customary (Yngl. S. 4). Frey and Freyia were the offspring of such a union (Lokasenna 36, Yngl. S., *l. c.*), and we have a hint of similar relations between these two deities themselves (Lokas. 32). The fact that such a custom was attributed to the gods may perhaps be taken as evidence that it was once known among men, presumably among those by whom the Vanir were worshipped, *i.e.* the Swedes. If so the change which took place in the relative positions of the king and queen will become more easily intelligible.

What has been said above is put forward of course only as a hypothesis, to account for the fact that a male god appears with attributes which elsewhere belong to goddesses and to bridge over the gulf between Nerthus and Frey. I am far from denying either that many points in the development of the cult are obscure or that male gods of fertility are to be found in other religions. Especially among the Prussians and Lithuanians we meet with a number of such gods. One of them, Potrimpo or Padrymbo, 'der gott vom getreide,' seems to have somewhat resembled Frey. He is said to have been represented as young and of joyous aspect and wearing a garland of ears of corn. A special feature of his cult was a snake, which was kept in a bowl covered with sheaves of corn[1]. Another deity of the same type was Curcho or Gurcho, who is called a god of food

[1] Grunau, *Preussische Chronik*, Tract. II. cap. V. § 1 f.

and drink and who seems to have been specially associated both with corn and fishing. A third was Gabiauga or Gabjauja, described as the god of barns; he had a festival late in the autumn. We may further add a god called Waisgautis or Waizganthos, whose festival according to Lasicius[1] took place three days after the great autumnal feast (cf. p. 243), and who seems to have been specially connected with the flax crop. As to the relationship of these various deities to one another we have no definite information. There are certain indications, however, which suggest that they may all have been local forms of the same conception. Thus, according to Praetorius (p. 18), "jetziger Zeit findet man nicht bey den Nadraven noch bey den angrenzenden Zamaiten meines Wissens dass der Padrympus namentlich beehret wird. An dessen Stelle scheinet auszer der Zeminele oder Zemelukis geehret zu werden der Waisgautis d. i. der Gott der Fruchtbarkeit" etc.; and again (p. 22): "die Nadrauer verehren den Gurcho oder Padrymbo unter dem Namen Gabiauga."

It is worth noting that both *Gabjauja* and *Curche* (the earliest form of the name *Gurcho*) seem to have the endings of feminine substantives. This makes us inclined to suspect that the gods may originally have been local forms of the earth-goddess Zemyna or Zemynele whose cult, as we have already seen, was widespread among the Prussians. Sometimes, however, we find her associated with one or other of the gods, *e.g.* in the festival of Gabjauja (Praetorius, p. 64 f.). Another possibility therefore deserves to be taken into account, namely that some of these gods may originally have been regarded rather as husbands of the goddess[2] than as actually identical with her. In modern folklore[3] the reaper of the last sheaf is sometimes described in terms which seem to indicate that he or she was regarded as the husband or wife of the corn spirit. We have already seen

[1] Respublica Poloniae etc., p. 284.

[2] The name *Zemepattys* (cf. p. 247) suggests that that god may originally have been regarded as the husband, as well as the brother, of Zemynele (cf. Lith. *pats*, 'husband').

[3] Cf. Mannhardt, *Mythologische Forschungen* (Quellen und Forschungen, No. 51), pp. 323 ff., 334 (cf. also p. 339).

that Potrimpo's likeness is said to have been crowned with ears of corn. But according to Praetorius (p. 59) it was customary for the last sheaf to be cut with special ceremonies by the chief person present and for the ears of this sheaf to be made into a garland, which the reaper wore on his return home. Is it too much to infer from this that he may have been regarded as the husband of the corn goddess?

Now Nerthus, like Zemynele, is described as an earth-goddess (*Terra Mater*). As the giver of the fruits of the earth her place in Scandinavian religion seems to have been taken by the young male deity Frey. If our hypothesis is correct, however, it is in Freyia that we have really to seek the later form of Nerthus, while the prototype of Frey is to be found rather in the priest who alone was privileged to touch her car. Tacitus does not say that the priest was regarded as the husband of the goddess, but the analogy of Hyndlulióð renders such a relationship probable.

There is yet another serious difficulty however which requires to be faced, this time of a geographical character. The cult of both Frey and Freyia is confined to Sweden, Norway and Iceland. Frey in particular is so closely connected with Upsala that we cannot reasonably look for the origin of his cult in any other quarter. Yet it is quite incredible that the sacred island of Nerthus could have been situated in a region so remote from the territories of the Angli and Warni. Consequently, though we can hardly fail to recognise a near relationship between the two cults, we must not suppose that Frey has actually inherited the sanctuary of Nerthus. We shall have to see now whether traces of any similar cults are to be found in less distant regions.

We have evidence for the existence of island sanctuaries both in the North Sea and in the Baltic. In the former the only known case is that of Heligoland, which was sacred to a god named Fosite[1]. This island was famous in the Middle Ages for its fertility; and, moreover, it possessed a sacred spring which might possibly correspond to the *secretus lacus* mentioned by

[1] Cf. Alcuin, *Vita Willebrordi*, cap. 10; Adam Brem., IV. 3.

Tacitus. On the other hand it had no trees even in the time of Adam of Bremen, when its area was considerably greater than it is at present. But there is a much more serious objection, which we have already noticed (p. 200 f.), to the identification of Nerthus' island with Heligoland. In view of its proximity to the coasts of the Chauci and the Frisii it is hardly credible that Heligoland can have been the centre of a religious confederacy in which these tribes had no part—especially since in later times it actually was a Frisian sanctuary.

The various points of affinity noted above between the cult of Nerthus and the Swedish cult of Frey tell decidedly in favour of the view that the sacred island was situated in the Baltic. We must therefore enquire whether Danish tradition preserves traces of any similar cult. Now it is generally agreed that the character of Fróði, the peace-king of Danish legend, shows a certain resemblance to that of Frey. According to Yngl. S. 12 he was a contemporary of Frey, and the universal peace which prevailed during their time was attributed by the Swedes to Frey and by the Danes to Fróði. So great was the general security in Fróði's days that he had gold rings—described sometimes as bracelets and sometimes as necklaces (Saxo, pp. 164, 169; cf. also Skáldsk. 43, Skiöldunga S. 3)—placed on the public high-roads. According to Saxo, p. 170 f., no one dared to touch these until Fróði reached extreme old age, when a certain sorceress persuaded her son to steal one of them. Fróði sought in anger to arrest her, but she took the form of a 'sea-cow,' and as the king was looking for her along the shore, she attacked and slew him with her tusks. Fróði's death, like that of Frey, was kept secret for three years, and his body was carried about in a royal carriage to make people believe that he was still alive. Finally he was buried in a barrow near Værebro in Sjælland.

Early Danish kings.

It will be seen that the affinities of this story are not entirely with that of Frey. The incident of the ring and the sorceress recalls the adventures of Vanlandi and Visburr. There is another point, however, which deserves notice. Scandinavian tradition records several Danish kings named Fróði, two of whom, Fróði I ('Frið-Fróði') and Fróði III ('enn friðsami'), seem to have been

originally identical. The incident of the gold 'ring' is told in Skiöldunga Saga, cap. 3 (Skaldsk. 43), of the first of these kings, the grandson of Skiöldr; by Saxo, however, it is referred to Frotho III[1]. Now Saxa's Frotho I is said to have been the son of a king named Hadingus, who has affinities with the god Niörðr. Both Niörðr and Hadingus were chosen as husbands by their wives, and in both cases the bride made her choice by examining the man's feet, though the motive of this action was different in the two stories. Again, both marriages proved unhappy; the man disliked his wife's mountain home and the continual howling of the wolves, while the wife was equally unable to stand the constant shrieking of the sea-birds at her husband's dwelling on the shore. Indeed the Latin poems in which these complaints are expressed by Saxo (p. 33) may be mere expansions of the Norse verses (preserved in Gylf. 23) which tell of the woes of Niörðr and Skaði.

Striking, however, as are the affinities of the two stories we must not omit to notice that there are also important points of difference. Hadingus and Frotho I are warrior kings of whom many great deeds are recorded, for which we find no parallel in the stories of Niörðr and Frey. Above all, however, it is to be observed that these kings, Frotho III included, are constantly represented—by all authorities—as ordinary human beings and quite distinct from the gods. Indeed with the possible exception of Skiöldr, a case to which we shall have to return presently, there is little or no evidence for the existence of national Danish gods[2].

The goddess Gefion.

On the other hand we have some evidence for a Danish goddess. This deity was called Gefion, and the account given of her in Yngl. S. 5 (cf. Gylf. 1) is as follows. When Othin was on his journey to the North he stayed for a time at Odense and sent Gefion to Sweden to spy out the

[1] In Skiöldunga S. 3, however, Frodo III is killed by a stag in a manner which recalls the incident related by Saxo.

[2] In the catalogue of national deities given in Fornm. Sög. v. 239, Flat. III. 246 (see below) we find *Goðorm Dana goð* beside *Skiöld Skánunga goð*. The former seems not to be mentioned elsewhere. It should be observed however that this list is not entirely trustworthy.

land. Gefion is described as a 'travelling woman,' which is perhaps to be interpreted as 'sorceress.' From the Swedish king, Gylfi, she begged a plough-land. Then taking four oxen, her sons by a certain giant, she yoked them to her plough and tore away a large slice of Gylfi's territory into the sea. The new island thus created was Sjaelland and the gap which she had made in Sweden was the Mälar. Subsequently she married Othin's son Skiöldr. They lived at Leire in Sjælland. Elsewhere we do not hear very much about Gefion. From Flat. II. 334 it has been thought that she was invoked chiefly by unmarried women. According to Gylf. 35 she is herself unmarried and receives the souls of all women who die unmarried. In Lokas. 20, however, she is charged by Loki with having granted her affections to a fair youth from whom she received a necklace. In the following verse Othin rebukes Loki for this taunt, saying, "Thou art mad and senseless to provoke Gefion to wrath, for I believe that she knows all the future just as well as I do." This passage, it will be observed, implies control as well as knowledge of the future. Indeed it is doubtful whether the ancient Scandinavians drew any clear distinction between the two ideas. What is here said of Gefion is the regular description of expert sorceresses.

The story in Ynglinga Saga enables us to locate the cult of Gefion with almost as much precision as that of Frey. The island of Sjælland has been created by her. Her dwelling-place is Leire (in Sjælland), the chief residence of the ancient Danish kings. Her husband is Skiöldr, the eponymous ancestor of the Skiöldungar, the Danish royal family. The only piece of evidence which conflicts at all with this identification is that in Fornmanna Sögur, V. p. 239 (Flat. III. 246), Skiöldr is called *Skánunga goð*, 'the god of the people of Skaane.' But the discrepancy is of slight importance, for Skaane always belonged to Denmark in early times. Indeed such a strait as the Sound would serve rather to join than to separate seafaring populations like those of Skaane and Sjælland. But it is at least a question whether the name *Skáney* was not originally used in a wider sense, for in Beowulf (l. 1687) *Scedenig* (the same form) appears to mean the whole Danish kingdom. Again, in l. 19

Scedeland, a plural form, is used in the same sense, while Ptolemy gives the name *Skandia* to the islands of the Belt as well as to Sweden (cf. p. 194). Of Skiöldr himself we hear nothing more in Old Norse literature, except that he ruled over Denmark (then called Gotland) and was succeeded by his son Friðleifr (Skaldsk. 43, Skiöld. S. 1 f.). Saxo (p. 11 f.) places him among the earliest Danish kings and makes him the son of Lotherus and grandson of Dan. The exploits which he records of him are that he captured a huge bear and slew many champions in single combat; that he won, also by single combat, the hand of Aluilda, daughter of the king of the Saxons, and that he reformed the laws and abolished manumissions. In his capacity as legislator, which may perhaps indicate quasi-priestly character, he resembles Frotho III. There is nothing in Saxo's account which could lead us to suppose that he connected Skiöldr specially with Skaane.

On the other hand, there is an unmistakable resemblance between the characters of Gefion and Freyia[1]. The incident of the necklace recalls the story of Freyia and the dwarfs in Sörla Tháttr. Both Gefion and Freyia seem to be concerned with sorcery and both receive the souls of the departed. Again, I have suggested above that the origin of the god Frey is to be found in sacred kings (priest kings) who were originally, like Óttarr in Hyndlulióð, regarded as husbands of Freyia. In the case of Gefion we have a relationship of this kind explicitly stated. It is true that Skiöldr is once called a god, while in Langfeðgatal, Skiöldunga Saga, Skáldskapar-mál (cap. 43) and Ynglinga Saga he is said to have been a son of Othin. But we never meet with his name in lists of the deities. Consequently, though it is likely enough that he may have received worship locally or from his descendants, he can hardly have been a recognised member of the Northern pantheon. The conclusion therefore to which we are brought is that Gefion is the Danish counterpart of Freyia, but that the conception of the deity has in this case retained a more primitive form.

[1] I doubt whether much importance ought to be attached to the similarity between the names *Gefion* and *Gefn* (a name of Freyia). It is worth noticing, however, that in Skaldsk. 6 Niörðr is called *gefianda guð*—whatever that may mean.

There is one feature, however, in the story of Gefion which deserves to be examined somewhat more closely. We have seen that Frey is a god of fertility, both animal and human, and also that he governs the produce of the earth. In the case of Freyia these features have not been preserved[1]. But Gefion comes before our eyes driving a four-ox plough—an incident which at once suggests that her cult was connected with agriculture. Indeed we can hardly fail to suspect that this story originated in a ritual myth—presumably from some such ceremonies as those which we find practised in England on Plough Monday. It may seem a far cry from the goddess Gefion to 'Old Bessy' of the English ceremonies, but I think that links are not wanting which will connect the two rather closely. We have seen that there is evidence for the Plough Monday ceremonies having been practised on the eve of Epiphany. This may very well be the older date, for ecclesiastical influence would tend to shift such festivities from the vigil of a great feast[2]. Again, we have seen that in the corresponding ceremonies practised on the Continent the plough was sometimes burnt. The 'ledingh of the ploughe aboute the fire' seems to point to the former prevalence of the same custom in England. Now in certain parts of Gloucestershire it used to be the custom on the eve of Epiphany to light a number of straw fires in order to 'burn the old witch[3].' A trace of a similar custom seems to be preserved in central Germany, where on the Sunday after Epiphany people used to gather in the market-places and run about shouting 'Frau Holle wird verbrannt[4].' This Frau Holle is elsewhere (in Lower Saxony) described as an old woman with grey hair and long teeth, who brings a waggon full of New Year's gifts for children. In other districts her name is preserved in a more antique form, *Holda*. Sometimes she appears in quite a different guise. In Hessen and Thüringen she is

[1] The sacrifice to Freyia recorded in Hervarar S. 14 (cf. p. 249) is said to be for the blessings of abundance (*til árbótar*).

[2] Cf. Bilfinger, *Das germanische Julfest*, p. 111.

[3] Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, *Das festliche Jahr*[2], p. 27. Fosbroke, *Encyclopaedia of Antiquities* (1825), p. 572, speaks of the custom as prevailing 'in some counties.'

[4] Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, *Das festliche Jahr*[2], p. 24; at Eisfeld in Thüringen the burning is said to have really taken place every year.

represented as a beautiful woman with long, golden hair. Accompanied by a crowd of children, which are believed to be the souls of those who have died unbaptized, she draws a golden plough over the fields in order to promote their fertility. The time at which this takes place is between Christmas and Epiphany, but especially on the eve of the latter. A number of stories are told of her appealing to men to mend her plough or ferry her with her troop of children over a river. As a reward for these services she gives them some splinters off her plough, which afterwards turn to gold[1]. In some districts also she blesses marriage and gives fertility to the human race[2]. From her springs come new-born children[3]. In southern Germany, Austria and Switzerland her place is taken by a being named Perchta, whose name is said to be derived from the popular name of Epiphany (*Perchtentag*). Her characteristics are in general the same as those of Holda. Like her she is accompanied by the souls of dead children and grants fertility to the fields and herds[4]. It was formerly the custom to set a table for Perchta and her troop on the nights between Christmas and Epiphany[5]. Lastly, both Holda and Perchta appear sometimes as leaders of the 'wild host,' a fact which again connects them with the souls of the departed[6].

It can hardly be doubted that the stories of Holda (Holle) and Perchta have an intimate connection with the ceremonies of Plough Monday[7]. The character of the being herself, the plough, and the date at which she makes her appearance are sufficient evidence for this. It is true that in Germany the plough-ceremonies take place at a somewhat later period of the year.

[1] Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, p. 23.

[2] Mogk in Paul's *Grundriss d. germ. Philologie*[2], III. p. 279.

[3] Mannhardt, *Germanische Mythen*, p. 267.

[4] Mogk, *op. cit.*, p. 280 f.

[5] Jahn, *Deutsche Opfergebräuche*, p. 282. Burchard of Worms mentions a similar custom in connection with *tres sorores quas...antiqua stultitia Parcas nominauit*, who recall the Nornir of Scandinavian mythology (cf. Mogk, *op. cit.*, p. 284). There is no necessity for supposing that this practice was of Roman origin. Similar customs are known in many different parts of the world as offerings to the souls of the dead. For a triple personation of Perchta cf. Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

[6] Mannhardt, *Germ. Myth.*, pp. 262 f., 296.

[7] Cf. Bilfinger, *Das germ. Julfest*, p. 111.

But in the light of these stories we need scarcely hesitate to believe that they were once practised at Epiphany. Further, it is at least very probable that 'Old Bessy,' as well as 'the old witch,' is a reminiscence of Holda[1]. On the other hand this same being, whether we regard her as witch or goddess, has unmistakable affinities with the goddesses Gefion and Freyia. Besides her association with the plough, which she shares with the former, she resembles both these deities in the fact that she receives the souls of the departed. Again, she resembles Freyia (and Frey) in her association with love and marriage[2]. Lastly, it deserves to be noticed that the name *Holda* (*Holle*) is identical with that of the sorceress Huldr[3], whom we have seen reason above for connecting with Freyia.

If our hypothesis is correct both Freyia and Gefion were originally only local forms of a chthonic deity—similar to Zemynele—whose cult was known to all Teutonic peoples, indeed probably to all agricultural communities. She granted fertility to the crops, promoted love and gave increase to animal and human life, foretold the future and took to herself the souls of the departed. How she came to be associated with the Christian festival of Epiphany is not altogether clear. There is no solid ground for doubting, in spite of all that has been written on the subject, that many, if not all, Teutonic peoples had a festival about or shortly after midwinter, and it is only reasonable to suppose that on the adoption of the Roman calendar popular festivals were attracted into those of the new religion. We

[1] The skin-clad 'fool' (cp. p. 238) may likewise be traced back to a custom known in early times, for which see Tille, *Yule and Christmas*, pp. 96 ff. But the hypothesis that this custom was derived from Rome seems to me entirely unproved. Saxo (p. 185) speaks of *effeminatos corporum motus scenicosque mimorum plausus ac mollia nolarum crepitacula* in connection with the sacrifices at Upsala, and similar practices are known in many other countries, in Asia as well as Europe. The prevalence of the particular variety known as *ceruulum facere*, etc. may quite possibly be connected with the worship of Cernunnus.

[2] Cf. especially the stories of Venus and the Hörselberg, etc. (Grimm, *Teut. Mythology*[4], Engl. Transl., p. 935 etc.).

[3] Cf. Mogk, *op. cit.*, p. 278. The name may originally have been generic rather than personal. We may compare the *huldufolk* and *huldrer* (the people who live below ground) of Icelandic and Norwegian folk-lore (cf. Herrmann, *Nordische Mythologie*, p. 106 ff.).

should naturally expect then that the cult of the chthonic deity of whom we are speaking was connected with this midwinter festival. On the other hand we have seen (p. 242 f.) that the worship of Frey is specially associated with the autumnal festival, which is itself always described as a sacrifice for plenty. This difficulty may perhaps be explained by the hypothesis, which, as we have seen, has much in its favour, that the autumnal festival was really a New Year celebration. Consequently, when the beginning of the year was shifted from 'the winter nights' to midwinter, the festival associated therewith might likewise be transferred.

But it must not be overlooked that the festival of Frey in the story of Gunnarr Helmingr, though it began apparently in the autumn, lasted through the winter. The festival of Nerthus also, to judge from Tacitus' account, would seem to have lasted some considerable time. This suggests that the midwinter-festival may really have been a continuation or, more probably, the conclusion[1] of the celebrations begun in the autumn. Indeed there are certain indications which point in that direction. In the first place the object of the midwinter sacrifice seems to be identical with that of the sacrifice held at 'the winter nights;' at all events there is no obvious distinction between the meanings of *til gróðrar* and *til árs* (cf. p. 242). Again, we have evidence for processions with ploughs and boats during Advent (p. 239)—a fact which appears to give some significance to the name 'sacrificial month' applied to November (cf. p. 243). Account must also be taken of the rather curious fact that the last sheaf plays a part in usages and beliefs connected with midwinter. Sometimes the grain taken from it is made into a special cake which is eaten (by men or animals) at Christmas[2]; sometimes

[1] It is true that Gunnarr Helmingr's festivities are represented as continuing until the spring. But this may be due to a local peculiarity, for at Upsala the chief festival—both the yearly and nine-yearly festivals—took place in February or March; cf. St. Olaf's Saga (Heimskr.), cap. 76, Adam of Bremen, IV. 27 and schol. 137. At Leire on the other hand the chief festival—at all events the nine-yearly festival—took place at midwinter: *mense Ianuario post hoc tempus quo nos Theophaniam Domini celebramus* (Thietmar, I. 9).

[2] Cf. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*[2], II. p. 286 ff., where several other interesting facts which bear on this question are noted.

the last sheaf itself is left standing in the field, the idea being that Othin should have it for his horse when he comes at Yule[1].

The fact that the last months of the year and even the early days of January should be chosen for ceremonies directed towards the fertilisation of the fields is one which certainly requires some explanation. Is it possible that the underlying idea is that of a parallelism between the life of the human race and that of the corn? Such a notion is distinctly suggested by the story of Gunnarr Helmingr, especially if taken in connection with Adam of Bremen's account of Fricco (cf. p. 245). We may note also Bede's statement that Christmas Eve was known to the heathen English as *modra nicht, i.e. matrum noctem*[2]. In the next chapter we shall meet with further evidence which points in the same direction. Reference may likewise be made to the use of corn at weddings[3], to the Danish custom of placing a new-born child in a sower's basket[4] and to several practices described by Mannhardt[5], which seem to imply the identification of the farmer's wife with the corn-spirit. These observations however open up a large question which cannot be adequately treated here.

We have noted above that the cult of the chthonic deity whose attributes we have been considering is extremely widespread. It must not be argued, however, from this that any attempt to localise the sanctuary of Nerthus is necessarily futile. After all there is one very special feature about the cult as described by Tacitus. It was shared *in commune* by seven tribes, and was regarded as the distinctive characteristic which marked these tribes off from their neighbours. By itself the expression *in commune* might perhaps mean no more than that Nerthus was worshipped by each of the seven tribes individually. But the mention of the island and the consecrated car which it contained

[1] Cf. Herrmann, *Nordische Mythologie*, p. 504.

[2] *ob causam, ut suspicamur, ceremoniarum quas in ea peruigiles agebant* (De Temporum Ratione, cap. 15). The festival which Bede identifies with Christmas was in all probability the midwinter festival (*Geohol, Geol*), which fell between the two months called *Giuli*. Since the Anglo-Saxon year was a lunar one the true date would presumably vary.

[3] Cf. Mannhardt, *Myth. Forsch.*, p. 358 ff.

[4] *ib.* p. 366.

[5] *ib.* p. 336 f.

shows clearly that this interpretation cannot be correct. Another explanation which has been proposed is that Nerthus in the course of her peregrinations visited the whole of the seven tribes. This explanation is based mainly on the phrase *inuehi populis*; but I do not see that these words need amount to anything more than a rhetorical way of saying that the goddess visits mankind. Moreover if we take the view that the car did pass through the territories of tribes settled on the mainland, we shall have to suppose, since there is no reference to the use of a boat, that the island was really a peninsula or at least separated from the mainland only by a shallow channel. This interpretation has actually been proposed[1], but I cannot admit that it is the natural meaning of *insula Oceani*. Again, wherever the territories of the Angli and Warni may have been situated, it can hardly be denied that the seven tribes together must have covered a considerable expanse of country, unless indeed they were tribes of quite a different order from the rest mentioned by Tacitus. Yet the notion that such an extensive journey was undertaken by a lumbering team of cows strikes one as almost absurd, especially since Tacitus' words *donec idem sacerdos satiatam conuersatione mortalium deam templo reddat* clearly imply a return journey. By far the more natural interpretation is to suppose that Tacitus was continuing in his mind the train of thought which he had been following in the previous chapter. There, describing the festival of the Semnones, he says that all the tribes of the same blood attended the festival by means of delegates (*legationibus coeunt*). In later times we have a close parallel in the great festival which was held every nine years at Upsala, and which is described by Adam of Bremen (iv. 27) as a common festival of all the provinces of Sweden (*communis omnium Sueoniae prouintiarum sollempnitas*). "No one," he says, "is exempt from participation in this festival; kings and nations, one and all, send their offerings to Upsala." In the light of

[1] Mannhardt, *Baumkultus*, p. 567 ff. In spite of the valuable illustrations which he supplied, Mannhardt's treatment of the whole subject seems to me unsatisfactory. It is scarcely an explanation of Tacitus' account, but rather an attempt to explain it away. The same remark applies to the article on the goddess of the Aestii in the *Zeitschr. f. deutsch. Alt.*, XXIV. 159 ff.

these passages it would seem that the peregrinations of Nerthus may very well have been confined to the island in which her sanctuary was situated, and that the island itself was regarded as the centre of a religious confederacy. The analogy of the festival of the Semnones will then further lead us to suspect that this confederacy was based on blood-relationship.

If this interpretation is correct it is clear that Gefion's island, Sjælland, will fulfil the requisite conditions admirably. It is sufficiently large for the peregrinations of Nerthus to have been fairly extensive. Further, besides being famous for its fertility (cf. Adam of Bremen, iv. 5, Saxo, p. 5), it was for long ages the most important seat of political power in the western Baltic, and this power was wielded by kings who claimed descent from Gefion's husband. If we are right in deriving the god Frey from a Swedish counterpart of the cult of Nerthus, we have a fairly close analogy for the growth of political out of priestly hegemony, though there is really no ground for denying that political power may have appertained to the priestly office from the beginning. Lastly it is to be observed that according to Thietmar's Chronicle (I. 9) there was held at Leire every ninth year a great sacrificial gathering, which seems to have corresponded to the one at Upsala, though it was apparently on a still larger scale[1]. In view of what has been said above it is scarcely impossible that this gathering may have been directly descended from the festival of Nerthus.

One lacuna in our argument, however, still remains to be filled up. The Danes are not mentioned *suo nomine* in the list of tribes enumerated by Tacitus, and it has indeed been supposed, though on totally inadequate grounds[2], that they did not settle in the islands of the Belt until the third or fourth century or even later. We must therefore endeavour to see whether among these tribes themselves any reminiscences are to be found of a connec-

[1] *est unus in his partibus locus, caput istius regni, Lederun nomine, in pago qui Selon dicitur, ubi post viiii annos, mense Ianuario ..... omnes conuenerunt et ibi diis suismet lxxxx et viiii homines et totidem equos cum canibus et gallis pro accipitribus oblatis immolant*, etc.

[2] Cf. p. 139, note; to this subject we shall have to return again in the course of the next chapter (p. 290 ff.).

tion with Sjælland or its cult. But since with the exception of the Angli the only tribes which we have been able to identify disappeared from history at an early date, it is among the Angli alone that we can hope to meet with such reminiscences. In the following chapter we shall see that the required evidence is actually supplied by English tradition. Incidentally also we shall obtain further support for our view that the cult of Sjælland was essentially connected with agriculture.

CHAPTER XI.

KING AETHELWULF'S MYTHICAL ANCESTORS.

The West Saxon genealogy.

We have already (p. 60 f.) seen that the West Saxon kings claimed to be of the same stock as the royal house of Bernicia. With the exception, however, of Wig and Freawine, whose history has been discussed above, no names occur in either genealogy which we can associate with extant traditions, whether English or Scandinavian[1]. The same remark applies to the genealogies of the royal houses of East Anglia, Lindsey and Deira. Most of these lists contain suspicious elements, *e.g. Gewis*, *Beornic*, *Biscop*, *Caser*, but there is little reason for doubting that in general they are of great antiquity. Many of the names, and even of the single elements of which the names are compounded, are such as seem not to have been used in England within historical times, though we meet with them in the history or traditions of other Teutonic nations.

All the above families, together with those of Kent[2] and Mercia, traced their descent from the god Woden. Of the latter

[1] In place of *Baeldaeg* the name *Balder* seems to have been substituted by Aethelweard (*ad ann.* 855) if, in the absence of MSS., we may trust the editions of his work. If this is an identification it is probably due to accidental similarity in the names. The explanation put forward by Schröder (*Zeitschr. f. d. Alt.*, XXXV. 242 f.) can hardly be maintained, for the vowel in *Bael-* (*Bel-*) is clearly long. Brond may quite possibly be the eponymous ancestor of the Brondingas mentioned in Wids. 45, Beow. 521.

[2] The name *Witta* occurs again in Wids. 22, where it is stated that "Witta ruled the Swaefe." There is nothing to prove the identity of the two persons, but the name is rare.

we do not hear much in Anglo-Saxon literature; but the little information which we do get accords fairly fell with the characteristics of the same god (Othin) as they appear in Scandinavian poems and sagas. Aethelweard (*ad ann.* 449) says that the heathen used to sacrifice to him for the sake of victory and valour. Elsewhere[1] he is associated with the practice of magic, which is also a prominent feature of the Scandinavian Othin. It is impossible, however, here to enter on a discussion of the cult and myths connected with the god.

The genealogies do not end with Woden but go back to a point five generations earlier, the full list of names in the earlier genealogies[2] being Frealaf—Frithuwulf—Finn—Godwulf—Geat. Of the first four of these persons nothing is known. Asser says that Geat was worshipped as a god by the heathen, but this statement is possibly due to a passage in Sedulius' Carmen Paschale which he has misunderstood and incorporated in his text[3]. It has been thought by many modern writers that the name is identical with *Gapt* which stands at the head of the Gothic genealogy in Jordanes, cap. 14; but the identification is attended with a good deal of difficulty[4]. In Old Norse literature the corresponding name *Gautr* is borne by a number of persons, including the eponymous king of Götland (Yngl. S. 38). It is also one of the names of Othin (Grímnismál 54 etc.). The latter is likewise sometimes (Hákonarmál, etc.) called *Gautatýr* ('god of the Gautar'), which has been interpreted to mean that the Götar were the first of the Northern nations to worship this god. If the personal name is really derived from that of the nation one cannot help wondering how it came to stand at the head of the English genealogies. Did any of the English royal families ever believe that they were of Götish origin?

The only other occurrence of the name *Geat* in Anglo-Saxon

[1] Grein-Wülcker, *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie*, p. 322.

[2] Cott. MS. Vesp. B 6, fol. 108 ff. and related texts (cf. pp. 42, 43, 60 f.); so also in the Historia Brittonum except that *Folcwald* has been substituted for *Godwulf* (cf. p. 42). The Chronicle has in ann. 547 *Freoþolaf* for *Frealaf*, while in ann. 855 it inserts an additional name *Friþuwald* before *Frealaf*. Asser, who follows the Chronicle in the latter passage, has made *Finn* and *Godwulf* into one name.

[3] Cf. Stevenson, *Asser's Life of King Alfred*, p. 162 f.

[4] In Jordanes' orthography the form corresponding to *Geat* would be *Got* (i.e. *Gōt*).

literature is in Deor. l. 14 ff., the most probable translation of which is as follows: "Many of us have heard that Geat's desire for Maethhild[1] was beyond measure, so that his anxious love robbed him entirely of sleep." Both these persons are equally unknown, but since the passage has a strong resemblance to what is said of Frey in Skírnismál it is at least possible that the divine ancestor of the kings is meant.

The earlier genealogical texts come to an end with Geat. The names which follow occur only in the Chronicle and in the works of later writers, Asser, Aethelweard and others, who are at least in part dependent on it. These all make Geat the son of a certain Taetwa, of whom nothing is known. Beyond this point Aethelweard has only three generations, whereas the Chronicle and later works have eight. It will be convenient here to give the more important forms of the genealogy in full.

Chronicle	Malmesbury	Aethelweard
Taetwa	Beowius	Beo
Beaw	Sceldius	Scyld
Sceldwea	Sceaf	Scef
Heremod	Heremodius	
Itermon	Stermonius	
Haþra	Hadra	
Hwala	Gwala	
Bedwig	Bedwegius	
Sceafing[2]	Strephius	

Malmesbury's list appears to be due to a combination of the other two, though in one point, which we shall have to notice shortly, he is probably to some extent independent of both authorities. With regard to the relationship of Aethelweard's list to that of the Chronicle it is clear that *Scyld* corresponds to *Sceldwea*. We might suspect then that Aethelweard has omitted five names, but against this supposition stands the fact that we find *Scyld Scefing* in Beowulf (l. 4) and, as we shall see later, there can be no doubt that this Scyld is identical with the other. It would

[1] This name does not occur elsewhere, and some writers have doubted its genuineness. It is quite parallel, however, to *Maeðhelm*, which occurs in the Durham Liber Vitae. Possibly the word *Maeð-* may have some connection with *-maeld* in *Raegnmaeld* (ib.).

[2] The last three lines are omitted in the Parker text (A).

seem then that Aethelweard has acquired the genealogy from some unknown source in a more primitive form than that contained in the Chronicle.

Taken as a whole the list in the Chronicle presents one or two curious features. In the first place some of the names are not in West Saxon form. To *Beaw* we shall have to return shortly; but with regard to *Sceldwea* and *Bedwig* there can scarcely be any doubt. Again, some of the patronymics, *Taetwaing*, *Sceldwaing* etc., are not true Anglo-Saxon forms at all; for elsewhere we invariably find *Pending* beside *Penda*, *Iding* beside *Ida* etc. Of course it would be rash to assume from this that the genealogy is not genuine. The obvious explanation is that it is derived from a Latin document where the formula used was *A. genuit B.*, or possibly *A. filius B.* Generally speaking the names seem to be very archaic; we may note especially the ending *-wa* in *Taetwa*, *Sceldw(e)a*. So far as I am aware, not one of these names, except *Heremod*, occurs in historical times. On the whole then we may conclude that the list is based on a Latin document which may quite possibly have been ancient. We cannot infer with certainty that this document was not of West Saxon origin, for we find similar forms in other West Saxon genealogies. There is nothing incredible in the supposition that West Saxon documents may have been preserved by Kentish scribes.

If we examine the five names which are wanting in Aethelweard's text we can hardly fail to note that one of them, *Itermon*, has a suspicious appearance; indeed it does not look like an Anglo-Saxon name at all. Asser seems to have read *Itermod*, a fact which rather suggests that the name may have arisen through a combination of dittography and misreading. The other names however are hardly open to objection. Both *Heremod* and *Hwala* occur elsewhere, the latter only in Widsith, l. 14, where it is stated that Hwala[1] was at one time the most illustrious of rulers. Quite possibly the same person is meant. The name *Heremod* is found in later times, though it is not common. In the old poetry it occurs only in Beowulf, where it

[1] *Wala* in the MS., but *H* is required by the abliteration.

is borne by a former king of the Danes, whose history we have already discussed (p. 148 ff.).

If the Heremod of the genealogy is identical with the Heremod of Beowulf—which can hardly be regarded as more than a mere conjecture[1]—we may probably infer that the interpolated names in the genealogy of the Chronicle are those of a line of Danish kings. We must next turn our attention to the three names *Beaw*, *Sceldwea* or *Scyld* and *Sceaf* which occur in all our authorities. Now the first Danish kings mentioned in Beowulf are Scyld Scefing and his son and successor Beowulf. The name *Beaw*, if it is a true West Saxon form, cannot be connected with *Beowulf*[2]. But the forms *Beo* and *Beowius*, used by Aethelweard and Malmesbury respectively, suggest that *-ea-* stands for *-eo-* either through scribal corruption or dialectal sound-change. Of the Danish Beowulf the poem says little except that he was a popular and famous king, while the genealogies with one exception record nothing whatever of Beaw or Beo. The exception is a roll in the Library of Trinity College which traces the descent of King Henry VI from Adam[3]. The part of this genealogical table with which we are concerned is derived to a large extent either from Malmesbury or from a document used by him, as may be seen by the omission of the name *Frithuwulf* and the appearance of the forms *Sceldius* and *Gwala*. The son of Sceldius is called *Boerinus*, which seems to be a corruption of Malmesbury's *Beowius*[4]. To Boerinus however nine sons are assigned, the names of whom are Cinrincius, Gothus, Iutus, Wandalus, Gethus, Fresus, Suethedus[5], Dacus and Geate. Then follows a note which states that "from these nine sons of Boerinus are descended nine

[1] In the light of what is said about Sceaf-Scyld and Beo (Beowulf) it is a fairly probable conjecture (cf. p. 291).

[2] The earliest known form of the name is *Biuuulf* (Liber Vitae).

[3] There is said to be a sister text in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris; cf. Kemble, *Beowulf*, II. p. vii.

[4] The corruption would seem to indicate the presence of the Anglo-Saxon letter *w* in an earlier text.

[5] The line of descent passes, presumably owing to an oversight, through *Suethedus*, who is made the father of *Godulphus* (Godwulf). Taetwa is omitted in the roll, unless *Gethus* (Par. *Ehecius*) is a corruption of *Tetius*.

nations which inhabited the North and which once upon a time invaded and acquired the kingdom of Britain, namely the Saxones, Angli, Iuthi, Daci, Norwagenses, Gothi, Wandali, Geati and Frisi[1]." It will be observed that the names of the nations do not entirely correspond to those of the sons of Boerinus, and we may therefore probably infer that the note is a later addition, though the presence of the name *Geati* is worth observing. For the nine sons of Boerinus themselves Scandinavian parallels are to be found. We may note especially the nine sons of Halfdan the Old mentioned in Skaldsk. 62 and Flat. I. 25 f., who are represented as the founders of famous dynasties. It is not unlikely therefore that Boerinus' family is due to Scandinavian influence.

Scyld and Sceaf.

Of Sceldwea or Scyld the genealogies say nothing. According to a note in the Trinity roll however "this Sceldius was the first inhabitant of Germany[2]." Beowulf supplies somewhat more information about him, but before giving these passages it will be convenient to deal with the statements contained in the genealogies regarding Sceaf.

Sceaf is said in the Chronicle to have been born in Noah's Ark[3]. Aethelweard and Malmesbury give much fuller accounts of his origin. According to the former he "came to land in a cutter (*dromo*) on an island in the Ocean which is called Scani. He was surrounded with weapons and was a very young child and unknown to the inhabitants of that land. Yet they took him up and watched over him as one of their own kin with great attention and subsequently elected him as their king[4]." Malmesbury's version of the story is as follows: "Sceaf, as they say, was brought as a child in a ship without oars to Scandza

[1] *ab istis nouem filiis Boerini descenderunt nouem gentes septentrionalem inhabitantes qui quondam regnum Britannie inuaserunt et optinuerunt, viz. Saxones, Angli, Iuthi, Daci, Norwagenses, Gothi, Wandali, Geati et Frisi.*

[2] *iste Sceldius primus inhabitator Germanie*, etc.

[3] The original reading (preserved in B and C) appears to have been: *Bedwig Sceafing id est filius Nóé. se waes geboren on þaere earce Noés.* The reference is presumably to Sceaf.

[4] *Ipse Scef cum uno dromone aduectus est in insula Oceani quae dicitur Scani armis circumdatus, eratque ualde recens puer et ab incolis illius terrae ignotus; attamen ab eis suscipitur, et ut familiarem diligenti animo eum custodierunt et post in regem eligunt. de cuius prosapia ordinem trahit Athulf rex.*

a certain island in Germany which is described by Jordanes, the historian of the Goths. He was asleep, and a sheaf of corn lay beside his head. He was on this account called Sceaf (*i.e.* 'Sheaf'), and received as a prodigy by the people of that country and carefully fostered. When he reached manhood he reigned in the town which was then called Slaswic but now Haithebi. Now that district is called Old Anglia and is situated between the Saxons and the Gothi. From it the Angli came to Britain[1]." It will be seen that in spite of the substantial identity of the two stories there is sufficient difference between them to render it improbable that one has been derived from the other. Malmesbury's use of the Latin name *Scandza* in place of the Scandinavian form *Scani* (Old Norse *Skáney*) employed by Aethelweard may of course be due to deliberate alteration. But the fact that the boat is said to have contained weapons in one account but a sheaf of corn in the other can hardly be explained on this hypothesis, however much one may be inclined to distrust Malmesbury's authority. Again, though the last sentence in Malmesbury's account may be derived from another passage in Aethelweard's chronicle (ad ann. 449), this writer says nothing about Sceaf reigning in Slesvig. Indeed he distinctly implies that Scani was the seat of his government. As to the sources of the two accounts nothing is known. It seems not improbable that the statement in the Chronicle about Noah's Ark may have come from some one who was familiar with the tradition.

It is a curious fact that in Beowulf the same story is told, or rather implied, in the case of Scyld Scefing. According to l. 6 ff. he was at first "found in distress"; eventually however he acquired great power and influence, deprived many dynasties of their thrones and compelled all his neighbours to submit to him and pay him tribute. The story of his funeral is related at some

[1] *Iste* (Sceaf) *ut ferunt in quandam insulam Germaniae Scandzam, de qua Iordanes historiographus Gothorum loquitur, appulsus naui sine remige puerulus, posito ad caput frumenti manipulo dormiens, ideoque Sceaf nuncupatus, ab hominibus regionis illius pro miraculo exceptus et sedulo nutritus: adulta aetate regnauit in oppido quod tunc Slaswic nunc uero Haithebi appellatur. est autem regio illa Anglia Vetus dicta, unde Angli uenerunt in Britanniam, inter Saxones et Gothos constituta.*

length. In accordance with the directions he had given his body was brought to the sea-shore and placed on a ship. Treasure was heaped upon him, weapons, swords and coats of mail were piled around, and a golden standard set up over his head. "They adorned him with offerings, with magnificent treasures, none the less than those did who at the beginning sent him forth alone over the sea when he was a babe." The ship was then sent out to sea and no one knew what became of it.

Here again we have reference to the story of a foundling who drifted in a boat to a land where he was apparently unknown, and afterwards became king. In this case however the foundling is called not Sceaf but Scyld Scefing. Now according to the most common use of such forms in *-ing* this expression would mean 'Scyld, son of Sceaf,' and we have seen that Sceaf's son is called Scyld by Aethelweard. It might be thought therefore that the incident which is told by Aethelweard of Sceaf has been transferred by Beowulf to his son. We have to remember however that, although Malmesbury agrees with Aethelweard in this respect, Beowulf is probably even in its present form a work of much greater antiquity than either of the other authorities. Moreover the statement in the Trinity roll that Sceldius (Scyld) was the first inhabitant of Germany, though we cannot trace its origin, seems to point to a form of the story agreeing with Beowulf. Above all the language of the poem implies that the child's parentage was unknown. But if so we can scarcely regard the term *Scefing* as a patronymic in the strict sense; we shall have to take it rather as meaning 'child of the sheaf,' or perhaps 'sheaf-child,' an expression for the origin of which Malmesbury's *frumenti manipulus* will provide a satisfactory explanation.

Most recent writers agree that Scyld was originally the subject of the story. Objection however has been taken to the explanation given above on the ground that the incident of the sheaf appears only in the latest version of the legend. According to Dr Axel Olrik (*Danmarks Heltedigtning*, p. 233 ff.) three stages may be distinguished in the development of the story. In the first, represented by Beowulf, a helpless child, named Scyld Scefing, comes in a boat with arms and treasures to the

land of the Danes, which had long been without a ruler. His figure is entirely heroic, foreshadowing the military renown of his descendants. In the second stage, represented by Aethelweard, the story has been transferred to Sceaf. Otherwise however there has been little change. In the last stage, represented by Malmesbury, the weapons have been replaced by a sheaf, the child's arrival is regarded as a miracle and the seat of his government has been transferred to Slesvig. Thus the sheaf-motive does not appear before the twelfth century, *i.e.* at a time when the old heroic traditions were moribund in England. Its introduction is due to popular etymology and to a desire to bring the circumstances of the child's arrival more into conformity with the peaceful name which he now bears. Originally however the name *Scefing* denoted 'son' or 'descendant of Sceaf,' for the child's origin, though unknown to the people of the land, was well known to the poet. Sceaf is to be identified with the Langobardic king Sceafa, mentioned in Wids. 32. His connection with Scyld, though it already occurs in Beowulf, is due simply to the Anglo-Saxon passion for framing long genealogies. Originally Scyld had nothing to do with Sceaf.

Except in regard to the Langobardic Sceafa this reasoning seems at first sight convincing. But I am inclined to think that it contains one assumption which ought not to pass without question. It is doubtless true that the old heroic traditions were dead or dying in England by the twelfth century. But are we justified in believing that the story of Scyld-Sceaf in the form given by Malmesbury is derived from this class of tradition? It has been mentioned above (p. 230) that stories of Ing appear to have been current among the uneducated as late as the fourteenth century. Yet this person is never mentioned in Beowulf; indeed his name only occurs once in extant Anglo-Saxon literature. There is little reason therefore for thinking that he figured at all prominently in heroic tradition. The presumption is rather that he had been forgotten by court poets in quite early times and that his memory was preserved only in humbler circles. For an analogy we may turn to the religious beliefs of ancient times. There can be no doubt that the religion professed by the kings

and nobles of Augustine's time, and which they abandoned on their conversion to Christianity, was in the main a worship of certain gods. Yet we find traces of a more primitive religion, namely the worship of fetishes, belief in witchcraft etc., in far later times, when probably even the names of the gods had been forgotten.

It seems to me somewhat hasty therefore to assume that the version of the Scyld-Sceaf story given by Malmesbury is necessarily descended from the version found in Beowulf and in Aethelweard's Chronicle. Beowulf is clearly a relic of the old court poetry, while Aethelweard was a member of the royal family and almost the chief man in the land. But a monk who was looking for old traditions in the twelfth century would have to turn to a different quarter. The popular version of the story would naturally bear a different colour from that which was current in higher circles. But it need not have been a corrupt form of the latter. The two (the 'heltesagn' and the 'folkesagn') may have existed side by side for ages, though doubtless not without influencing one another to a certain extent.

Now there is some reason for believing that Malmesbury's version of the story really was founded on ancient popular tradition. Evidence to this effect is supplied by a curious incident which is related in the Chronicle of Abingdon (Rolls Series, I. p. 89). In the reign of King Edmund a dispute arose between the monks of Abingdon and the officials of Oxfordshire as to the proprietorship of certain meadows on the north bank of the Thames. This dispute is said to have been settled in the following singular manner. The monks floated a round shield in the middle of the river. On it they had placed a sheaf of corn and above this a lighted taper. The shield floated down the river as far as the disputed ground, then turned up a channel which surrounded the meadows, and having completed the circuit of these returned to the river. The incident was regarded as a miraculous confirmation of the monks' claim.

It has often been pointed out that this story seems to contain a reminiscence of the legend of Scyld-Sceaf, with a literal interpretation of both names. How far it is founded on fact we do not know; nor have we any means of ascertaining when it

was first committed to writing[1], though it is perhaps worth noting that the round shield seems to have become antiquated by the time of the Norman Conquest. But even if the story is wholly fictitious it still requires to be explained how such an idea could suggest itself to the mind of the chronicler. I think we can hardly avoid suspecting that it must have been founded upon some ritual practice current among the peasantry of the district. We may perhaps compare the fact that the early settlers of Iceland are recorded to have thrown their 'high-seat pillars,' on which the figure of Thor was carved, overboard on approaching land and to have raised their homesteads wherever these came ashore[2]. At all events the two practices seem to be somewhat analogous. But have we any reason for believing that the sheaf was ever regarded as a religious symbol?

Such evidence fortunately is not wanting. In a neighbouring district (close to Eton) a harvest ceremony was witnessed on Sept. 14, 1598, by some German travellers who gave a description of it in the account of their journey. The last load of corn was crowned with flowers and an image magnificently arrayed, 'by which perhaps they meant to represent Ceres,' attached to it. A number of men and women sat on the waggon and shouted all the time as it was led up and down the village, until finally it came to the barn[3]. Similar practices are known later in other parts of England. The following account is taken from Hutchinson's History of Northumberland, II. 17: "I have seen in some places an image apparelled in great finery, crowned with flowers, a sheaf of corn placed under her arm and a scycle in her hand, carried out of the village in the morning of the concluding reaping day with music and much clamour of the reapers into the field, where it stands fixed on a pole all day, and when the reaping is done, is brought home in like manner.

[1] Both the existing texts of the chronicle date from the thirteenth century.

[2] Cf. Eyrbyggia S. 4, Landnámabók I. 6, II. 12, IV. 9.

[3] *Cum hic ad diversorium nostrum reverteremur, forte fortuna incidimus in rusticos spicilegia sua celebrantes, qui ultimam frugum vehem floribus coronant, addita imagine splendide vestita, qua Cererem forsitan significare volentes, eam hinc inde movent et magno cum clamore Viri juxta et mulieres, servi atque ancillae, currui insidentes per plateas vociferantur, donec ad horreum deveniant;* Mannhardt, *Myth. Forsch.*, p. 326 f.

This they call the Harvest Queen, and it represents the Roman Ceres[1]." A similar story comes from the neighbourhood of Cambridge: "At the Hawkie, as it is called, I have seen a clown dressed in woman's clothes, having his face painted, his head decorated with ears of corn, and bearing about him other symbols of Ceres, carried in a waggon, with great pomp and loud shouts, through the streets, the horses being covered with white sheets; and when I inquired the meaning of the ceremony, was answered by the people that they were drawing the Harvest Queen[2]."

In the last instance the Harvest Queen is represented by a man, while in the other cases we hear of a figure, which seems to be the earlier form of the custom. What the figure was made of we are not told, but there can be little doubt that originally it was a corn figure made from the last sheaf. In Scotland it is said to have been customary at one time to make the last sheaf into the likeness of a female figure which was called Carline[3]. In Bulgaria however a much more primitive form of these practices is known[4]. The last sheaf is made into a figure called *Shitarska zarka* ('Corn-queen') or *Shitarska moma* ('Corn-mother'), and is clothed in a chemise and carried round the village. Afterwards it is either thrown into the river in order to call down plentiful rain and dew for next year's crops; or else it is burnt in the fire, and the ashes are then strewn over the fields.

Scepticism is sometimes expressed as to whether we are justified in tracing the origin of such practices as these to ancient religious rites. In one case however we have evidence which places a derivation of this kind practically beyond doubt. It has been mentioned above (p. 256) that among the Prussians in the seventeenth century the last corn was cut with special ceremony and that from the ears a garland was made which the reaper wore on his return home. It has also been suggested

[1] Brand, *Popular Antiquities of the British Isles*, II. 20; Mannhardt, *op. cit.* p. 333.

[2] Brand, *op. cit.* II. 22; Mannhardt, *l. c.*

[3] Mannhardt, *op. cit.* p. 326.

[4] *ib.* p. 332.

that this custom may have some bearing on the representation of the god Potrimpo. Beside Potrimpo however we find also another god named Kurcho (cf. p. 254 f.), who seems merely to have been a local variety of the same deity. Now, the earliest reference to the name Kurcho, or rather *Curche* (apparently a feminine form), occurs in a document dating from the year 1249 and is highly significant: "Once a year, when they had gathered the crops, they used to make an idol which they called Curche and worshipped as a god[1]." The figure described in this passage clearly belongs to the same type as the 'Ceres' and the 'Harvest Queen' mentioned in the English references which we have been considering[2]. In this case however we have a definite statement that the figure was an object of worship. So far as I can see, this statement admits of only two interpretations. Either the figure was a corn-fetish from which Kurcho, the corn-god of later times, was descended; or else it was intended as a representation of the corn deity.

From the similarity of the Prussian and English customs we need not hesitate, I think, to conclude that among our own ancestors also the sheaf, or a figure made from a sheaf, was once an object of worship—though doubtless this worship had already become more or less obscured even in the time of the Abingdon chronicler. On the other hand the occurrence of the shield (*scyld*) beside the sheaf (*sceaf*) in our story leaves us little room for doubt that the ceremony described above has some connection with the legend of Scyld-Sceaf. What the nature of this connection may be it is difficult to decide. The most natural explanation seems to be that the shield and the sheaf together had once formed a fetish or the symbol of some deity, before they came to be personified. But at all events, if there is any connection at all, we clearly cannot admit that the sheaf was not introduced into the story of Scyld before the twelfth (or eleventh) century.

[1] *ydolo quem semel in anno collectis frugibus consueuerunt confingere et pro deo colere, cui nomen Curche imposuerunt*; cf. Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 94.

[2] Praetorius (p. 23 ff.) describes a ceremony connected with the worship of Kurcho which seems to have rather a close resemblance to the story quoted above (p. 279 f.) from Hutchinson.

In regard to the name of the child we have already given reasons for believing that this was originally Scyld, and that Scefing was a surname derived from the sheaf rather than a patronymic. The process of development which brought about the creation of a Sceaf and the transference of the story to him is not very difficult to trace. When the expression *Scyld Scefing* came to stand at the head of a list of patronymics (*Beo Scylding* etc.), it would naturally be regarded, sooner or later, in the same light. Hence Scyld appeared on the one hand as son of Sceaf, while on the other he was said to be a foundling of unknown parentage. The transference of the story from Scyld to Sceaf was therefore a natural way out of the difficulty. Against the alternative explanation, viz. that the child's name was originally Sceaf, there is a serious objection. We have no evidence whatever for the use of *Sceaf* as a personal name in England, or, so far as I am aware, in any Teutonic nation. This objection, it may be observed, holds equally well against the supposition that *Scefing* was originally a patronymic—except of course that it might come from a name *Sceafa*[1]. But perhaps it may be urged that *Scyld* is also unknown as a personal name in England, for place-names such as *Scyldes treow*, *Sceldes ford*, may all refer to the same legendary hero. That is no doubt true. But we do find similar names applied to persons, e.g. *Brond* and *Helm*, whereas Sceaf belongs to an entirely different category. More weighty than this however is the fact that in Old Norse literature the corresponding name, *Skiöldr*, is not uncommon. Its popularity there is due no doubt to the fact that it was the name of the first king of the Danes.

It is to this person that we must now turn our attention. There can be no reasonable doubt that the Danish Skiöldr is identical with the Scyld of our story. It is true that for the two most remarkable facts related of Scyld, namely his arrival as

[1] I cannot admit that one is justified in assuming the identity of the names *Sceaf* and *Sceafa*; for, though *Beo* and *Beowa* do apparently occur side by side (cf. Binz, *Beiträge*, XX. 155 f.), such cases are quite exceptional. If the sheaf was an object of worship in early times, as I have suggested, names compounded with *sceaf-* might naturally be expected. *Sceafa* may then be a form similar to *Cuþa* (for *Cuþwine*).

a child and the manner of his funeral, we have no evidence in Scandinavian tradition. The vernacular literature, as we have already noticed, has little to say of Skiöldr, while Saxo's Scioldus bears but slight resemblance to Scyld. Yet notwithstanding this the original identity of the two is quite clear. Scyld is the eponymous ancestor of the Scyldungas (Scyldingas), Skiöldr of the Skiöldungar. That the Scyldungas and the Skiöldungar, at all events Healfdene (Halfdan, Haldanus) and his family, are identical, needs no demonstration. Scyld rules in the *Scedeland*, (*Scedenig*), which we have interpreted (p. 259 f.) as meaning the lands on both sides of the Sound; Skiöldr is connected both with Sjælland and Skaane. Now therefore we obtain an explanation of the fact that Scyld is associated with the sheaf, the symbol of agriculture; for in Scandinavian tradition Skiöldr is said to have been the husband of Gefion, whom we have given reasons for regarding as originally a deity of agriculture.

It will be convenient now to review briefly the evidence which we have been considering. We have seen (i) that there is reason for believing the sheaf to have been a religious symbol among the heathen English; (ii) that the mention of the shield beside the sheaf in the Abingdon story points to a connection with the story of Scyld; (iii) that Scyld is identical with Skiöldr, the husband of Gefion, the goddess of agriculture. I think then we are justified in regarding the sheaf as an original element in the story, and consequently in bringing it into connection with the form of religion which appears to have been specially prominent in Sjælland.

The origin of the legend is difficult, if not impossible, to explain. The combined evidence of English and Scandinavian tradition seems to show that the belief in the existence of a person named Scyld-Skiöldr goes back to the sixth, if not to the fifth century. On the other hand the fact that the two traditions have little or nothing in common as to the history of this person certainly gives us reason for doubting whether he was anything more than a name at this time. It may be granted that in all probability his personality was originally derived from the name of his descendants. But this observation gives us little help towards explaining the characteristic features of the English

form of the legend. It is worth noting that in the Abingdon story the shield and the sheaf are brought together without any suggestion of a child. Now, if we are right in supposing that this story is based on some ancient religious ceremony, the sheaf may very well have been regarded as a manifestation of the corn-deity. But there are said to be analogies, e.g. in the ritual of the Eleusinian Mysteries, for representing the corn as the child of the corn-goddess[1]. I am inclined to suspect therefore that the tradition may have originated in the ritual of some festival—presumably one which was celebrated in the autumn.

As for the name *Scyldungas-Skiöldungar*, we need not hesitate to believe that this originally meant 'the people' or 'kinsmen of the shield.' Similar appellations are not uncommon, e.g. *Rondingas*, *Helmingas*, *Brondingas*. But it does not necessarily follow that such names arose from the use of shields, helmets or swords in battle. The origin of most tribal and dynastic names is of course disputed; but such a nomenclature as this would have too little that was distinctive about it. More probably these names meant either 'the people of *the* shield, *the* helmet' etc.[2], or else the people who used shields, helmets etc., in some special way[3]. In the former case we may compare the Ancile of the Romans and the Palladion of the Greeks[4]; in either case we may note that occasionally shields have been found in the North which can never have been used except for ceremonial purposes[5]. Is it possible that the Danes ever possessed a shield

[1] Cf. Frazer, *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship*, p. 175 f. It is perhaps worth mentioning that in part of Russia the last sheaf is said to be called *Imjaninnik*, 'Geburtstagskind;' Mannhardt, *op. cit.* p. 332; cf. also *Korndämonen*, p. 28 f.; Frazer, *The Golden Bough*[2], II. p. 183.

[2] For a sacred sword cf. Jordanes, cap. 35. Aeneas Silvius (*Hist. de Eur.* 26) states that the Lithuanians worshipped an iron hammer.

[3] Cf. Ammianus Marcellinus, XVII. 12, § 21: *eductisque mucronibus quos pro numinibus colunt iurauere se permansuros in fide.* The reference is to the Quadi. The Franks and Goths had a custom, which among the former can be traced back to the first century (Tacitus, *Hist.* IV. 15), of proclaiming allegiance to a new king or leader by hoisting him upon a shield (cf. J. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, p. 234 f.); but it is at least doubtful whether this act had any religious significance. There is no evidence for such a custom in the North.

[4] For this observation I have to thank Mr A. B. Cook.

[5] Cf. Montelius, *The Civilisation of Sweden in Heathen Times* (Engl. Transl.), p. 66 f.; Schrader, *Reallexikon der indogerm. Altertumskunde*, p. 720. It is perhaps

which stood in a relationship to Gefion similar to that borne by the Palladion to Pallas Athene? We have no evidence, it is true, for the representation of Gefion as a 'shield-maiden'; but it is to be remembered that the amount of information altogether which we possess about this goddess is extremely small. At all events her northern counterpart, Freyia, is intimately associated with the Valkyries and even rides to battle herself[1]. On the whole then this is the explanation which I am inclined to favour.

We have observed that the English tradition seems to point to a ritual ceremony in which the chief part was played by a sheaf regarded as the child of the corn-deity. There is nothing improbable in supposing that in such a ceremony the sheaf may have been carried on a sacred shield. But, granting this, it must be admitted that there is at least one feature in the story which still requires explanation. According to our hypothesis we should expect the child to come from the corn-field. But as a matter of fact he is said to have come from the sea. Even in the Abingdon story the shield and the sheaf play their part in the water. In view of this difficulty therefore we must be prepared to take account of any evidence obtainable from other traditions, which may possibly contribute towards its elucidation.

Of such traditions there are two which deserve to be noticed.

Ullr.

The first is the story of the god Ullr. What is stated in Scandinavian literature about this person is unfortunately far from clear; but it is generally agreed that he must have been an important deity in early times. He is said to have been called *Skialdar Áss*, 'the god of the shield' (Skaldsk. 14). Again, the poets use the expression 'Ullr's ship' (*skip Ullar, askr Ullar*) as a designation of the shield (*ib.* 49). This expression has never been satisfactorily explained; but it

worth noting that it seems to have been customary to hoist a shield, apparently a white shield, called *friðskiöldr* (i.e. 'peace-shield') as a sign of peace; cf. Saxo, p. 158; Friðþiofs S. 15; Saga Magnus Berfætts 8. Saxo (p. 72) mentions the use of a red shield for this purpose; but according to Helgakv. Hund. I 34 this would appear to have meant war.

[1] Cf. Grímnismál 14, Gylf. 24, Sörla Háttr 2, 5, 7.

would seem to show that he used his shield as a boat, a trait which points to some affinity with the Abingdon story. Many modern writers hold that the reference to the shield in these phrases is due to a misapprehension, that originally the word used was *skíð*, which is said to mean both 'shield[1]' and 'ski'; and they point to Gylf. 31 where it is stated that Ullr was expert in archery and in the use of ski. On the strength of this passage indeed it is thought by many that Ullr was originally a Finnish god. But the explanation suggested, besides being somewhat unnatural, is open to the objection that ski are quite as useless for purposes of navigation as a shield. Moreover that the implement in question, whatever it may have been, was used for locomotion by water is shown by a statement of Saxo's (p. 81 f.), according to which Ullr (Ollerus) was so skilled in magic that he was able to cross the sea on a bone which he had marked with spells[2]. Of course in itself this passage rather deepens than explains the mystery; but Saxo's account in general tells decidedly against the supposition that Ullr was of Finnish origin. Briefly this account is as follows: Othin had disgraced himself so much by his conduct towards Rinda that the gods deposed and exiled him and chose Ullr as their chief, investing the latter with all the dignity and even the name of Othin. But when nearly ten years had passed Othin returned, and the gods received him gladly. Ullr fled to Sweden, but was killed by the Danes. It would seem then that he was supposed to have some connection with Denmark. Again, the occurrence of the name *Wolthuthewaz* on the chape found at Thorsbjærg (cf. p. 142 f.), though it may not be quite conclusive, certainly favours the idea that Ullr was known in the southern Baltic in very early times. For his antiquity the peculiar nature of his relationship to the other gods may be regarded as evidence.

[1] I do not know what authority there is for *skíð* = 'shield.' It is not recognised by Cleasby-Vigfusson in this sense. The fact that a closely related word is used with this meaning in the Celtic languages (cf. Much, *Beitr.* xx. 36) can hardly be regarded as conclusive evidence.

[2] *Fama est illum adeo prestigiarum usu calluisse ut ad traiicienda maria osse, quod diris carminibus obsignauisset, nauigii loco uteretur nec eo segnius quam remigio preiecta aquarum obstacula superaret.*

Sif is said to be his mother and Thor his step-father, but his father's name is never mentioned.

The second story which should be taken into consideration is that of Ing, given in the Anglo-Saxon Runic poem which we have already quoted (p. 230). Dr Olrik (*op. cit.*, p. 258 ff.) has pointed out that this account possesses three features which show affinity with the story of Scyld. (1) Ing sojourned for a while among the Danes. (2) He came from a world which was not human—for it was among the Danes that he was first seen by men. (3) Eventually he passed away over the sea. In the last case the parallelism may not be complete, for the words of the poem (*ofer waeg gewat*) admit and perhaps rather favour the supposition that Ing's departure took place while he was yet alive—which would link his story rather with that of the 'swan-knight' (Lohengrin). But this must be regarded as somewhat uncertain.

Ing.

Now Dr Olrik has called attention (p. 248 ff.) to the fact that Scandinavian literature contains two stories of kings whose funeral rites took the same form as those of Scyld, with the exception that the ship was set on fire in both cases. It is worth noting that both these kings, namely Haki (Yngl. S. 27) and Sigurðr Hringr (Skiöld. S. 27), appear to have been of Danish origin and that in both cases the ceremony is carried out at the dying man's command. In the latter case however it is said to be in accordance with the custom of his ancestors (*more maiorum suorum*). This statement is doubted by Dr Olrik, who thinks that both incidents are reflections of the legend of Scyld. But I am by no means satisfied as to the validity of his objections, viz. that the practice is mentioned only in heroic sagas[1] and that it is ascribed in both cases to the king's command. Ship-cremation on land is placed beyond doubt by the fact that the burnt remains have actually been found—a species of evidence which from the nature of the case it is impossible to obtain for this practice. The literary evidence however for the former variety is with one exception (the story of Ibn Fadhlan) little if

[1] What Dr Olrik says about Balder's funeral (Gylf. 49) does not seem to me quite conclusive. Surely the natural meaning of the passage is that the ship was launched in the sea.

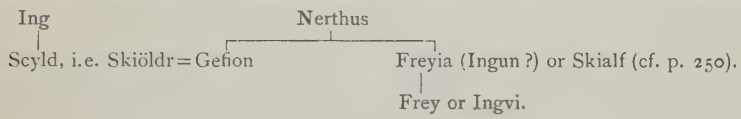
at all better than for the latter. Moreover we have in reality no evidence that according to Scandinavian tradition Skiöldr—or whatever name the eponymous ancestor originally bore—did receive funeral rites of this kind. I am disposed therefore to believe that the launching of the funeral ship really was an ancient custom, presumably indeed the older form of the custom, from which both ship-cremation (on land) and ship-burial were derived.

Dr Olrik is doubtless right in bringing the story of Scyld's departure over the sea into connection with his first arrival on the sea-shore. The one incident seems to be the natural counterpart of the other. Further, when he points out that the same features are present not only in the story of the swan-knight but also probably in that of Ing, we must admit that this view has much in its favour; for if the hero came to the Danes from an unknown world it is natural to conclude that he was believed to have come from over the sea. Indeed it may have been of Ing, as he suggests, that the story was originally told; for the tradition of Ing seems to be the older of the two. At all events this person had been entirely forgotten by the Danes at a time when Skiöldr was regarded as the founder of their kingdom. But I am unable to follow Dr Olrik in his further suggestion (pp. 253 ff., 261) that the legend was derived from the peoples of the Atlantic. If we set aside Procopius' story (*Goth.* IV. 20), which is of a somewhat different character, the western legends which he cites are all of late date. In these cases moreover the voyage is definitely to a land of the dead[1]; the first part of the Scyld-story seems to be wanting.

I have tried above to show that the story of the child is derived from the ritual of a cult connected with agriculture. It seems by no means improbable that this story has been blended with another—that of a hero who came from over the sea and eventually returned the same way, whether in life or death. Now the name *Ingwine* in Beowulf seems to be used as a

[1] Except of course where the point of the story is that the dead is allowed to choose his own resting-place (*ib.* p. 254). For such cases we have a good Northern parallel in Egils S. Skall. 27 f., where Kveldulfr's coffin takes the place of the 'high-seat pillars' (cf. p. 279).

synonym for *Scyldingas*. Thus we find *eodor Ingwina* (l. 1045) beside *eodor* (*eodur*) *Scyldinga* (ll. 428, 664) and *frean Ingwina* (l. 1320) beside *frean Scyldinga* (ll. 291, 351, 500 etc.), the reference in all cases being to the same person, Hrothgar, king of the Danes. This fact, taken together with what is said of Ing in the Runic poem, certainly makes a strong case for believing that as the eponymous ancestor of the Danish kings Scyld (Skiöldr) is the successor of Ing, and consequently that he may have taken over characteristics which originally belonged to his predecessor. It is true of course that in Scandinavian tradition traces of the name *Ing*, or rather its derivatives, are confined exclusively to Sweden; in connection with Denmark the name is practically unknown. But here Scandinavian tradition must be at fault, for it is incredible that the Inguaeones of Roman times were confined to Sweden. The case is parallel therefore to the disappearance of the name *Nerthus* in connection with Denmark[1], though the deity herself survived under a different name (*Gefion*). This being so, we may reasonably expect to find traces of Ing not only in the English tradition of Scyld but also in the Scandinavian traditions of Skiöldr. The most prominent fact in the latter however, indeed almost the only distinctive feature in Skiöldr's history, is that he was the husband of Gefion. We may now give the genealogy of the myth.



It has been conjectured before now that Ing was originally the husband of Nerthus, but, so far as I am aware, this conjecture has been based on the supposition that Ing (Ingwaz), as also Frey, was a form of 'the ancient sky-god Tiwaz' (Týr)[2], the

[1] According to Kock (*Hist. Tidskr.*, xv. 163) a trace of the name *Nerthus* is preserved in Sjælland in the medieval place-name *Niartharum* (i.e. *Niarðar heimr*) in the herred of Sokkelund.

[2] The theory that Týr (*Tīwaz) was originally a sky-god was based on the identification of his name with Sanscrit *dyāus* (Ζεύς), 'sky,' which is now known to be incorrect. The word **tīwaz* (Scr. *devas*, Lith. *dẽvas* etc.) may ultimately be connected with *dyāus* etc., but there can be no doubt that it had come to mean 'god' in very remote times.

idea being that the 'sky-god' ought to be the husband of 'Mother Earth.' On such speculations however I fear we can hardly build with safety, at all events until some evidence has been produced to show that Ing was really identified or connected in any way with the sky. But the above table gives us, I think, a better reason for believing that Ing and Nerthus, whoever the former may have been, actually were regarded as husband and wife. Moreover this suggestion is materially strengthened if we are right in our hypothesis (cf. p. 253) that the kings of the Swedes were originally regarded as husbands of Freyia. Indeed in that case the conclusion will be difficult to avoid; for the early kings of the Swedes were individually called Yngvi, and thus the Swedish tradition, in which the old name, or a derivative of it, has been preserved, will fall into line with that of the Danes. The question as to who this Ing really was is one which cannot profitably be approached without reference to the social conditions of the time—a problem to which we shall have to give our attention in the following chapter. It is not unreasonable however to suppose that traces of him may be preserved in the male god Niörðr, Freyia's father, as well as in Óðr, the husband by whom she was deserted.

Ethnological significance of the story.

Hitherto we have considered the story of Scyld Scefing from the side of mythology and religion only. From the ethnological point of view however the story has an importance which it would be difficult to overestimate. According to both English and Scandinavian tradition Scyld (Skiöldr) belongs to Sjælland-Skaane. Again, according to English tradition, as represented by Beowulf, as well as according to Scandinavian tradition, he was the ancestor of the Danish royal family. Lastly, in English tradition the Danes are called Ingwine, and the eponymous Ing is said to have been first seen among the Danes. How it can be contended in face of these facts that Scyld (or Sceaf) and Ing originally belonged only to English tradition, and that these legends were acquired by the Danes from the Angli, I confess I am not able to understand. Another hypothesis, namely that the Danes were an invading people who conquered Sjælland

and took over its local traditions, might be regarded as possible if the connection of these legends with the Danes was limited to Danish sources, or even to Scandinavian tradition generally. But the fact that English court poets were ready to admit the connection renders this hypothesis incredible; while at the same time it must be remembered that there is no evidence worth consideration to show that the Danes really were an invading people. The name *Dani* (*Dene*, *Danir*) may of course, like *Franci*, have come into existence at a comparatively late period (cf. p. 151). But there is no reason for supposing that the people themselves were any other than those who had been associated with the legends of Scyld and Ing from the beginning.

On the other hand it is not to be overlooked that Scyld was also regarded as the ancestor of the English royal families, at all events of that of Wessex. The legend, it is true, is only given by late writers, Aethelweard and Malmesbury, but the genealogy itself occurs in the Saxon Chronicle, a document of the ninth century. Yet we must observe that, although Aethelweard and Malmesbury trace the origin of the house of Wessex to Scyld-Sceaf, it is in the Danish islands (*Scani*, *Scandza*, i.e. *Scedenig*) that they let him first make his appearance. This would seem to show that according to tradition English royalty, or at least some branch of it, traced its origin to the lands in question. Now, earlier in the chapter (p. 271 ff.) it was pointed out that the name *Heremod* occurs in the West Saxon genealogy and that the same name is borne by an ancient Danish king in Beowulf (cf. p. 148 ff.). There is no definite evidence however for identifying the two persons. But if the West Saxon and Danish kings claimed descent from the same ancestor the identification is not unlikely. More important is the occurrence of the name *Beaw* or *Beo*, the son of Scyld. This person, as we have seen, clearly corresponds to the first Beowulf of the poem, who, like both his father (Scyld) and his son (Healfdene), is represented as a king of the Danes. His name has not been preserved by Scandinavian tradition, and he may possibly never have been known in Denmark, though on the other hand he may also have been forgotten, like Ing. The important point

to notice however is that Scyld is not the only person who is represented by Beowulf as a king of the Danes and by the genealogies as an ancestor of the kings of Wessex.

An objection may perhaps be raised against the use of arguments derived from the names Scyld, Beo etc., on the ground that these names do not occur in the earliest royal genealogies which we possess, namely those given in Dr Sweet's text (Cott. Vesp. B 6; cf. p. 60), in the Historia Brittonum and in an earlier passage in the Chronicle itself (ann. 547). But it is easy to exaggerate the force of this objection. There is no doubt that the Historia Brittonum has used a text closely related to Dr Sweet's genealogies, and it is more than probable that another text of the same family was in the hands of the compilers of the Chronicle. The various texts then appear to come ultimately from one written source, and consequently cannot be regarded as independent traditional evidence. Now the Chronicle (ann. 855) has combined this earlier genealogy with another list of names (*Taetwa—Sceaf*) which clearly has a different origin. It is true that the documentary evidence for the latter is not so early as for the other. But this fact does not justify us in assuming that the genealogy itself came into existence at a later period. Indeed all the evidence we possess is against the supposition that it was composed in the time of King Alfred.

In the first place it is difficult to believe that a chronicler of this period would desire to bring the king's ancestry into any sort of connection with that of the heathen princes who had just wrought such immense havoc in his country. Indeed the place which the genealogy occupies in the Chronicle itself suggests that it has been taken from an earlier edition, of which it may very well have formed the close (cf. p. 25). Again, we have seen (p. 272) that it appears to have been derived ultimately from a Latin document, which may quite possibly have been much older. But with regard to the tradition we are able to get more definite evidence than this. Of the names which occur in the list only two, Heremod and Scyld, are recorded in native Scandinavian tradition, and the former is all but forgotten (cf. p. 149 f.). For the rest we have no evidence at all. On the

other hand both Beo and Hwala, as well as the term *Sceafing* (*Scefing*), are known from Beowulf and Widsith, while the story of the child also occurs in Beowulf. It is quite clear then that the affinities of the genealogy lie not with later Scandinavian tradition but with the cycle of legend to which Beowulf belongs, i.e. with a cycle which goes back to the period of the Anglo-Saxon invasion. The occurrence of *Scyld-* and *Beo-* in a number of place-names[1] in various parts of the country points to the same conclusion.

In one respect of course this genealogy compares unfavourably with the earlier one, namely in the apparent interpolation of five names before *Sceafing* (cf. p. 271 f.). If Heremod is really the person mentioned in Beowulf he must have been placed many generations too high[2], and the names which follow probably belong to the same category. But we have already noticed that most of the genealogies contain suspicious elements. More than this however it is difficult to believe that in heathen times Woden was credited with five generations of ancestors, as in the *Frealaf—Geat* list. One can hardly avoid suspecting that in the genealogy from which this list was originally derived the name *Woden* was a later insertion, designed to bring the list into harmony with others—just as we find the same name inserted after *Seaxneat* by Florence (cf. p. 59). The same remark applies of course to the table to which Scyld and Beo belonged. Now we have already pointed out that the name *Geat* suggests a Götish origin for the family or families which claimed descent from that person. On the same principle but with much more confidence we may concede the probability of a Danish origin for the family or families which claimed descent from Scyld. Presumably the two lists originated in different parts of the country. The older genealogy clearly comes from

[1] *Scyldes treow*, *Scildes well*, *Beuentreu* etc. The fact that *Scyld-* and *Beo-* are extremely rare in personal names proves only that the tradition had little vitality within historical times and consequently tends to show the antiquity of the place-names. It is worth noting that the *treow* and *well* suggest heathen worship.

[2] Assuming that the genealogy is genuine, which there seems to be no adequate reason for doubting, it is conceivable that *Bedwig* was originally attached (in tradition) to *Baeldaeg* or *Brond*. The other B- names in the genealogies are too late to be worth mentioning.

one of the northern kingdoms. On the other hand all the evidence at our disposal points to a southern origin for the later list. One is naturally tempted to think first of the Jutes of Kent or the Isle of Wight. But the evidence of the place-names is distinctly against this suggestion. The safest examples of names compounded with *Scyld-* come from Wiltshire and Northamptonshire, while *Beo-* is scattered over the greater part of the country, the best example again coming from Wiltshire[1]. There can be little doubt therefore that the tradition was common Anglo-Saxon property, a conclusion which is certainly against the supposition that it was of Jutish origin, for the Jutes, at all events the inhabitants of Kent, seem to have been quite a distinct people in early times (cf. p. 85 f.). On the whole we need not hesitate to say that the evidence, so far as it goes, is decidedly favourable to Wessex as the home of the genealogy[2].

The conclusion to which we have been brought is that the traditional connection of English royalty with Scyld of Scedenig goes back in all probability to the time of the invasion. Now it is to be remembered that the English royal families, at all events those of Mercia and Wessex, claimed descent from the ancient kings and princes of Angel. This conclusion therefore affords exactly the evidence which we required at the close of the last chapter. We saw there that traces of the cult of Nerthus are to be found both in the Swedish Upland and the Danish Sjælland. It is impossible on geographical grounds to locate the sacred island in the former district, whereas the situation of the latter suits the conditions quite well. Now the Angli are mentioned by Tacitus as one of the tribes which shared the cult of Nerthus. This statement therefore is fully in accord with the fact that some at least of the Angli traced the origin of their race to the eponymous ancestor of the Scyldingas, the husband of Gefion whom we have identified as Nerthus under another name.

[1] Cf. Binz, *Beiträge*, xx. pp. 148, 155 ff. It is worth noting also that the personal name Beowulf occurs in the Northumbrian Liber Vitae (*Biuuulf*) and probably in a Dorsetshire entry in Domesday Book (*Beulf*) ; *ib.* p. 159.

[2] It is to be remembered that the West Saxon genealogy does not occur either in Dr Sweet's text or in the Historia Brittonum.

If this be granted the much debated question as to the home of the Angli may be regarded as practically settled. They must have been a Baltic people. Where precisely on the coasts of that sea their home lay in Tacitus' time we cannot of course determine with certainty. But at all events there is nothing to prevent us from believing that it was the same region which we find them occupying in later times.

Another point on which the story of Scyld throws light is the nature of the bond by which the various tribes which shared the cult of Nerthus were held together. Since the Angli and the Danes claimed descent from the same ancestor, there can be no doubt that the bond was believed to be one of blood—as in the parallel case of the cult shared by the Semnones and kindred tribes (cf. p. 224 f.). We need not hesitate to conclude that the other tribes, whose names have since disappeared, shared the same belief. Indeed the term *Inguaeones*, which seems to have been applied to the peoples of the southern Baltic, in itself involves a claim to common ancestry, whether the eponymous Ing was really regarded as the husband of Nerthus or not.

This observation brings us to a final question: Were the Inguaeones identical with the tribes which shared the cult of Nerthus? That the latter group were included in the former may be inferred with practical certainty from the use of the names *Ing* and *Ingwine* in Anglo-Saxon poetry. It has been thought however that the former group was a more extensive one, partly because the Swedish royal family were called Ynglingar and partly because Pliny includes the Cimbri, Teutoni and Chauci among the Inguaeones. The former case however rather makes for the identity of the two groups than otherwise; for we find the name *Niörðr* (i.e. *Nerthus*) in the most intimate connection with the Ynglingar. The Swedes may not have had any part in the religious rites celebrated in Sjælland in Tacitus' time, but there can be little doubt in view of this fact that their cult was ultimately obtained from there[1]. In regard to the

[1] Cf. Kock, *Hist. Tidskrift*, xv. p. 167, where it is suggested that the Ynglingar themselves had come from Denmark. This view does not entirely depend on the explanation of the name *Ingunarfreyr* given on p. 231.

latter case, if we are right in believing that the Cimbri and Teutoni lived about the Liimfjord, we should naturally expect their connections to lie with the Danish islands. With the Chauci however the case is different. Geographically they belonged to quite a different area; and, again, no traces of either Ing or Nerthus have been found among the populations of the North Sea. But enough has already been said on this point. On the whole it seems to me most probable that the inclusion of the Cimbri, Teutoni and Chauci among the Inguaeones is due to a conjecture on the part of Pliny, based on some statement similar to Tacitus' *proximi Oceano Inguaeones*. The original statement may have meant no more than that the Inguaeones were maritime peoples.

At the time when history opens the Teutonic peoples of the western Baltic are all included among the Danes. In Beowulf the terms *Dene* and *Ingwine* are apparently synonymous, though the latter seems to be becoming obsolete. Our discussion has led us to conclude that the Ingwine of the sixth century were the descendants of the Inguaeones of the first century, whether the two words are really identical or not. It is true that the Angli of Britain seem never to have included themselves among the Danes; but the reason for this may be that the name *Dene* (*Danir*) had not come into use as a collective term before the invasion of Britain. There can be no doubt that those who remained behind were subsequently known as *Dene*; indeed the name *Engle* must have disappeared very quickly. The case of the populations of the south coast of the Baltic was somewhat different. Partly, like the Angli, they migrated westwards, while whatever element remained behind was swallowed up in the Slavonic invasion. With these reservations however we may probably equate the Danes of the Middle Ages with the Inguaeones of the first century.

The Angli and the Saxons.

We must now turn to consider the relationship of the Angli to the Saxons. The latter, as we have seen (p. 193), are recorded to have occupied the neck of the Cimbric (i.e. the Jutish) peninsula. From this we might perhaps infer that the two tribes were either identical or very closely akin

to one another—a hypothesis which would certainly fit in with the evidence for the Angli and Saxons in Britain. On the other hand if, as we have suggested, the Saxons were really confined to the west coast of the peninsula, they may have been a people with quite different affinities. Sjælland and its religious associations would probably lie beyond their horizon. The cult of the Irminsul, though the evidence is not altogether conclusive (cf. p. 229 f.), certainly rather tends to support this latter view. Moreover we never hear of the Angli in connection either with the Saxon raids against the Roman provinces or with the subsequent history of western Germany—which would be very remarkable if the two nations were really closely connected. The Angli must of course have obtained access to the North Sea when they invaded Britain. But may not this access have been obtained, by conquest or otherwise, at a comparatively late period, when the westward movements of the Saxons had already been long in progress?

Now in an earlier chapter (p. 81 ff.) it was pointed out that, though the social systems of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms present certain points of resemblance to those of other Teutonic nations, among which we may include the Frisians, Old Saxons and Scandinavians, yet at the same time they exhibit some very distinctive features which we do not find elsewhere. Especially we may notice the absence of a special class of freedmen and the fact that the ceorl or ordinary freeman possesses a wergeld which elsewhere is associated not with the freeman but with the freedman. The ordinary free householder seems to have been described as a 'tribute-payer' (*gafolgelda*), a characteristic which apparently distinguished him from the higher classes of society. Again these higher classes or nobility contained many families which did not hold land and which appear not to have differed from the ceorls except through the possession of hereditary privileges. We have already remarked, arguing from analogy, that the most reasonable explanation of such traits as these is presented by the hypothesis of conquest. The 'gesithcund' classes will in that case be descended from the conquerors and the ceorls from the conquered population.

The story of Helgi Hundingsbani.

It seems to me very probable that these phenomena are to be brought into connection with the appearance of the Angli on the North Sea. Moreover a fairly distinct recollection of a conquest of the Saxon inhabitants of the peninsula seems to have been preserved by Danish tradition. This tradition is recorded by Saxo in a passage (p. 51) to which we have already had occasion to allude, but which is so important that it will be convenient here to give it in full. Speaking of a Danish king named Helgo he says: "he conquered in battle Hundingus the son of Syricus, king of Saxony, at the city of Stadium[1] and challenging him to a single combat overthrew him. For this reason he was called 'the slayer of Hundingus,' deriving a glorious surname from his victory. He took Jutland from the Saxons and gave it to his generals Hesce, Eyr and Ler to hold and administer. In Saxony he decreed that the freeman and the freedman should have an equal wergeld, wishing, as it seems, to make it perfectly clear that all the families of the Teutones were equally in bondage and that the whole nation had been degraded by the loss of their freedom to an equally dishonourable condition[2]."

Here it will be observed we find presented to us exactly the phenomena which differentiate the English social systems from those of kindred nations. The freeman's wergeld is reduced to a level with that of the freedman—a fact which of itself would naturally bring about the disappearance of the latter as a separate class of society. That the conquered population were made subject to tribute is only what might be expected under the circumstances. Attention however should be paid to the

[1] It is not clear what town is meant, as place-names ending in *-stedt* are very common in Holstein and South Jutland. Holder suggests Hollingstedt, near Slesvig. Elsewhere in Saxo's History the name *Stadium* is applied to Stade.

[2] *Hundingum Saxonie regis Syrici filium apud Stadium oppidum prelio uicit eundemque ex prouocacione adortus duello prostrauit. ob quod Hundingi interemptor uocatus uictorie decus cognomine usurpauit. Iutie Saxonibus erepte ius procuracionemque Hesce Eyr et Ler ducibus commisit. apud Saxoniam ingenui ac liberti necem pari summa rependendam constituit perinde ac liquido constare uolens quod cunctas Teutonum familias equa seruitus teneret omniumque corrupta libertas parem condicionis ignominiam redoleret. Ler* is possibly a corruption of *Leifr*, the name of Helgi's pilot in Völs. S. 9.

setting in which the story is placed by Saxo. The hero, Helgo, is identified by him with Helgo the son of the Danish king Haldanus (Halfdan), brother of Ro (Hróarr) and father of Roluo (Hrólfr Kraki). All these persons are well known to us from both Scandinavian and English tradition, and we need not hesitate to believe that a member of this family named Helgo (Helgi, Halga) did live in the latter part of the fifth century. But the identification noted above is peculiar to Saxo. Elsewhere in Scandinavian literature Helgi Hundingsbani, who is certainly the same person as the hero of our story, is brought into relationship with quite a different set of persons. He is represented as the son of Sigmundr, the son of Völsungr, while his mother is said to have been a Danish princess named Borghildr. In regard to the history of the Völsungar enough has been said above (p. 148 f.). If any credit is to be attached to the story, Helgi must have lived in the early years of the fifth century. The two poems in which he figures (Helgakviður Hundingsbana I, II) are taken up mostly with his fight against a king named Högni, whom he slew and whose daughter, Sigrun, he married. In Helgakv. II. 4 Högni and Sigarr are spoken of as brothers. This latter may possibly be the same person as the Sigarr whose story we have discussed (p. 146 ff.), for the dates more or less agree. Helgi did not long survive his victory, being slain by Dagr, the son of Högni, in revenge for his father. With regard to the scene of the action all the places mentioned in the two poems, which can be identified, lie in the south-western part of the Baltic, viz. Hlésey (Lessö), Brandey (Brandö), Heðinsey (Hiddensö), Hringstaðir (Ringsted) and Sigarsvellir (Sigersted)[1]. There can be no doubt therefore that Helgi is a Danish hero, though it is to be observed that the names *Danir* and *Danmörk* do not occur.

The references to Hundingr in both poems are quite brief and give no indication as to the position of his kingdom. But, if we may admit the evidence of the Thættr af Nornagesti (cap. 6), the territories of Hundingr's sons must have lain on the coasts of

[1] Cf. Mogk in Paul's Grundriss², II. p. 612, where the following identifications also are suggested: *á Mœinsheimum* (Möen), *í Örvasund* (Öresund or Stralsund), *á Varinsfirði* (Warnow, Warnemünde), *frá Svarinshaugi* (Schwerin).

the North Sea. This agrees very well with the story that Sigmundr was attacked and slain by them ; for Sigmundr's home in later life is said to have been in the land of the Franks or the Netherlands by both Scandinavian and German tradition. Outside Scandinavian literature nothing is known of Hundingr or his sons. In Widsith however (ll. 23, 81) we hear of a tribe or dynasty called Hundingas, though no clear indication is given as to their territories. It is by no means impossible that this dynastic name has been turned into a personal name in Scandinavian tradition[1].

We have already seen that at the time in which Sigmundr is said to have lived migratory movements from the old land of the Saxons to the Netherlands certainly were in operation. Hence, if Sigmundr was a real person, there is nothing improbable in the supposition that he may both have resided for a time in Denmark and subsequently settled in the Netherlands—though we shall then have to conclude that he was of Saxon rather than Frankish nationality. Further, it is likely enough that in course of time these movements brought about their natural consequences. The Saxons who remained in the peninsula became weakened and finally succumbed to the attacks of their eastern neighbours. The Hundingas may have been the dominant family among the Saxons when this national disaster took place.

It may perhaps be objected that we have no evidence for believing Helgi to have been an English king. We must bear in mind however that the fact that the Angli had once lived in the neighbourhood of the Danes was not preserved by Scandinavian tradition. If, as we have seen, Offa and his family had come to be regarded as Danes, the same might also have occurred in the case of Helgi. As a matter of fact Saxo is our only authority who does describe him as a Dane, and it is to be remembered that this writer has confused him with another Helgi who was

[1] There are other cases of the same kind ; we may compare e.g. Saxo's Hadingus and Hothbroddus with the Heardingas of the Runic Poem and the Heathobeardan of Beowulf. The reason for such changes is probably to be found in the fact that family names are often applied to individuals, e.g. *gamela Scylding* (of Hrothgar), Beow. 1792; cf. also such expressions as *Hiörvarðr Ylfingr* (Yngl. S. 41).

certainly of Danish origin. The poems do not specify Helgi's nationality. According to our view of the story the conflict between Helgi and Hundingr was really a contest between the nations of the Baltic and those of the North Sea. We need not hesitate to believe that the Angli were the most important of the former, at all events of those which were settled on the mainland. But it does not necessarily follow that the leader of the eastern forces in this campaign himself belonged to the Angli.

We may well believe that between the tribes which occupied the peninsula both pitched battles and single combats were of frequent occurrence in the time with which we are dealing[1]. Indeed the Thorsbjærg deposit itself is evidence for a very serious conflict. But especially would this be the case if, as we have seen reason for believing, the west and east coasts were occupied by nations with quite different affinities. I cannot see that any improbability is involved in the suggestion that one of these conflicts ended with disastrous results for the western population. The effects recorded by Saxo are after all probably no more than what took place on other occasions, e.g. when the Thuringi were conquered by the Franks and Saxons. In early times we hear of tribes which met with an even more tragic fate, such as the Ampsiuarii, who according to Tacitus, *Ann.* XIII. 56, were entirely destroyed or enslaved. On the conquerors themselves the effect would doubtless be a considerable access of strength and wealth, which would put them into a position to undertake distant enterprises.

It will be convenient now to summarise the results to which our discussion has brought us. The Saxons and the Angli seem originally to have occupied the west and east coasts of the peninsula respectively. Apart from geographical proximity

[1] It is possible of course that the incident related by Saxo with reference to the Saxon wergelds—which has all the appearance of a genuine tradition—may have been transferred from a different story. In an earlier work (*Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions*, p. 410 f.) I suggested that it was originally connected with Offa's fight at the Eider. Subsequent consideration however has led me to the conclusion that the scepticism with which I formerly regarded the story of Helgi was scarcely justified.

however we have no reason for believing that they had any close affinity with one another. The evidence of religion and tradition clearly connects the Angli with other tribes settled on the coasts and islands of the Baltic, more especially with the inhabitants of Sjælland. With the Saxons the case is not so clear, but what evidence we have points to western affinities. From the third century onwards the Saxons began to move westwards over the sea, perhaps impelled by pressure from behind. Those who remained were conquered, according to Danish tradition, by a king named Helgi, who seems to have lived about the beginning of the fifth century. The invaders of Britain though called Saxons by the natives really belonged to a nation which had only recently made its appearance on the western seas. In subjection to them however was a numerous population, presumably of Saxon origin. With the course of time this subject population would naturally tend to predominate, while the descendants of the Angli would dwindle into a military aristocracy. Lastly it appears from the genealogy of the East Saxon dynasty that at least one princely family of the Saxons had succeeded in maintaining its position, probably in alliance with the Angli; while in view of the numbers necessarily required for the success of the invasion it is very probable that a considerable proportion of the warriors who took part in it were drawn from all the surrounding regions.

CHAPTER XII.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF THE ROMAN PERIOD.

In Chapter VII we discussed the social and political conditions of the migration period chiefly from the evidence of native tradition. We saw that kingly government was then all but universal, though two or more kings were frequently to be found reigning together. The kings seem to have belonged to native dynasties and in general derived their claim from paternal ancestry. After the kings the most important element in the nation was the *þeod*, which appears to have been rather in the nature of a court than a popular assembly, consisting as it did of warriors old and young in the personal service of the kings. These persons were not exclusively members of the royal family or even born subjects of the kings, for wealthy kings attracted warriors to their service from many quarters. The government of districts and villages was granted to such warriors as a reward for their services. Generally speaking, the constitution of society, at all events in its upper strata, seems to have been military rather than tribal in character, the bond between lord and man being considered fully as strong as that of blood-relationship—equivalent perhaps to that of father and son.

When we turn to earlier times the evidence at our disposal is of a very different character. 'Heroic tradition' (heltesagn) is practically non-existent. Indeed, so far as the more northern nations are concerned we may say that tradition has not preserved the name of a single hero earlier than the fourth century who can be regarded as historical with any degree of probability. In place of this we have only folk-tales and stories relating to

gods and other beings who are clearly more or less mythical, together with survivals of primitive customs and beliefs which may be traced in later times. It need scarcely be mentioned that all this evidence is of a kind which requires to be treated with the utmost caution. Secondly, we have some valuable notices regarding contemporary Teutonic society from a few early Roman writers, especially Tacitus. Here again however caution is necessary. In all probability the information furnished by these writers applies primarily to the tribes with which the Romans themselves came in contact, and we must not assume that all their statements hold good for those settled in more remote regions. Particular attention must be paid to any notices which point to diversity of custom. Thirdly, it is to be remembered that remote districts often preserve primitive forms of organisation long after they have been modified or abandoned by regions more accessible to external influence. Now Norway seems to have been less exposed to southern influence than any other Teutonic land in early times. Hence, as our materials for this country are exceptionally rich, we may reasonably expect to find here evidence which will be worth consideration in its bearing on early Teutonic society. Lastly, valuable illustration may often be supplied by the customs of non-Teutonic peoples, especially those settled in neighbouring countries. Among these we may specify the inhabitants of the eastern Baltic, a region which has always been slow to receive external influence, and also the Gauls for whom we have information dating from very early times.

State of civilisation.

The general impression produced by reading the works of Tacitus and other contemporary writers is that the state of civilisation among the Teutonic peoples of that period was very appreciably lower than what we find in the fifth and sixth centuries. Some difficulty however is occasioned by the fact that the information which they furnish seems not to harmonise entirely with the results of archaeological investigation. Thus, to take a special case, Tacitus (*Germ.* 6) says that the Germani had so little iron that swords and long spears were seldom used; for the most part they had only short spears or javelins with short and narrow heads. This statement would

seem to suggest that the iron age was but beginning, and evidence to the same effect is perhaps to be obtained from cap. 43, where it is stated that the characteristic weapon of certain eastern tribes was a short sword. Now since the regular type of sword used by both Teutonic and Celtic nations in historical times struck the Romans as very long, one is tempted to see here a reference either to the bronze sword or at least to a primitive (Hallstatt) iron sword[1] modelled on the bronze type. Yet archaeologists put back the beginning of the iron age even in Scandinavian lands to a time from five to seven centuries before Tacitus.

In such cases as this archaeologists seem to me to have been too ready to argue that because the same type of article occurs both in the north and in the south, the periods during which it was in use in both quarters must to a certain extent overlap. No doubt the period during which a given article was used in Holland or Saxony must coincide to a certain extent with that during which it was used in Belgium or Bohemia; but does it necessarily follow that the period during which it was used in Denmark must coincide at all with the latter?

On the other hand[2] archaeological investigation has undoubtedly shown that certain statements made by ancient writers are erroneous and that many inferences drawn from the language of ancient writers are unfounded. As an example of the former we may take Strabo's statement (p. 291) that the Suebi, or perhaps the Germani in general, did not practise agriculture but lived like nomads, placing their belongings on waggons and moving about from place to place. For the latter we may refer to a much discussed passage in Caesar's Commentaries (*Gall.* IV. 1; cf. VI. 22) in which he credits the Suebi with a wasteful and apparently absurd system of agriculture, alleging that they never cultivate the same spot for more than a year but keep continually moving onwards—from which it has been inferred that agriculture was still in its infancy. Tacitus' evidence is perhaps not wholly incompatible with such

[1] Cf. S. Müller, *Urgeschichte Europas* (Germ. Transl.), p. 131 f. (fig. 114).

[2] For a fuller discussion of the subject treated in this and the following paragraphs see Hoops, *Waldbäume und Kulturpflanzen*, Kap. 12.

an inference, for it shows that agriculture, though known, was neglected. Yet it has always been somewhat of a difficulty that the remote Aestii are said to have been more given to agriculture than the rest of the Germani. A more serious objection however is that the terms for cereals and for cultivation are for the most part common to all the Teutonic languages, and indeed in great measure to all the Indo-European languages of Europe, though at the same time it is clear that they were not recent loan-words.

Archaeological investigation has now proved that the cultivation of cereals in the north of Europe goes back to the stone age. Of still greater importance is the discovery of the representation of a plough with two oxen among the rock-carvings at Tegneby in Bohuslän, which date from the bronze age[1]. However sceptical one may feel towards the dates fixed by archaeologists, this discovery shows without doubt that a highly developed system of agriculture was practised in Sweden before the beginning of the Christian era. Some other explanation of the accounts given by Caesar and Tacitus must therefore be found. What the true explanation is has been clearly shown by a careful examination of the various passages in which these writers refer to the subject[2]. The growth of the military spirit had led to a neglect of agriculture, as both writers expressly state. The peculiar phenomena recorded by Caesar are probably due to special conditions which may be described as migratory, though scarcely as nomadic, while Strabo's incorrect statement may have arisen out of a misunderstanding of Caesar's account.

How far these migratory conditions prevailed and to what causes they were due it is difficult to determine with the limited information at our disposal. The first three occasions on which the Romans came in contact with Teutonic tribes (viz. the Cimbri, the forces of Ariouistus, and the Usipetes and Tencteri) were all cases of migration; but this is only what might be expected. There is moreover a good deal of linguistic evidence which tends to show that a considerable part of western

[1] Cf. Montelius, *Civilisation of Sweden*, p. 71 (fig. 79); *Sveriges Historia*[2], p. 78 (fig. 87); Hoops, *op. cit.*, p. 500 (fig. 3).

[2] Cf. Hoops, *op. cit.*, pp. 508 ff., 526 ff.

Germany had been inhabited by Celtic peoples at no very remote period. On the other hand the Cherusci had apparently not changed their territories between the time of Caesar (*Gall.* VI. 10) and that of Tacitus, while the existence of sacred groves of great antiquity, like that of the Semnones, shows that the tribes which possessed them cannot have moved for many generations. We may also refer to the broad earthwork, which the Angriuarii had made to protect themselves from the Cherusci (*Ann.* II. 19). In Tacitus' own time we do hear of a migration of the Angriuarii, but it has been suggested above that this movement may have been inspired by fear of the Chauci. Caesar expressly states that the Usipetes and Tencteri had migrated through pressure from the Suebi. In another case, that of the Bataui (*Germ.* 29), we are told that the migration was due to a *seditio domestica* among the Chatti, to whom the Bataui had formerly belonged. Quite possibly Ariouistus' movement may have been due to a similar cause.

Among the more northern peoples, with whom we are primarily concerned, the great migration of the Cimbri is the only movement of which we have any record[1]. This movement was said to have been caused by a disastrous flood, and at all events we know that the ridicule with which Strabo (p. 293) treated the story was due to ignorance. The absence of all reference to subsequent migrations cannot be ascribed entirely to the fact that the Romans themselves did not visit these regions, for we hear of the Langobardi on several occasions during the first century. Further, it is to be remembered that migratory movements by land in such a region must always have been attended with considerable difficulty and that the expansion of these peoples in later times took place almost entirely by sea. Hence, with the evidence which we now have before us for the antiquity of agriculture, I think we are bound to conclude that under normal conditions the populations of the western Baltic were settled communities, although Tacitus (*Germ.* 40) states that the military spirit was prevalent even here.

[1] The Harudes who took part in Ariouistus' invasion may have come from Jutland; but it is quite possible that their fathers had left that country with the Cimbri.

We have seen that the earliest mention of the Angli dates from the first century and that they then formed part of a religious confederacy, the sanctuary of which lay in all probability in Sjælland. Regarding the organisation of the tribe we have no evidence earlier than the fourth century, at which time they were governed by kings from whom the Mercian royal family of later times claimed descent. Beside this family however we find a number of others which succeeded in obtaining thrones in Britain, and which likewise claimed divine ancestry, though from the god Woden downwards their genealogies were distinct from that of Mercia. Now are we to suppose that the institution of royalty goes back to the time of Tacitus, and, if so, did the Angli possess more than one royal family?

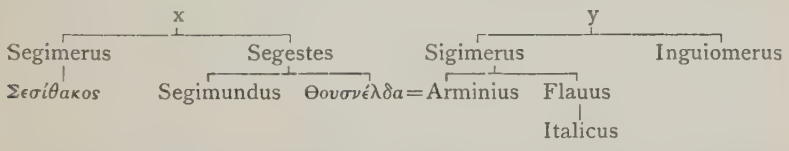
Form of government.

In Scandinavian history and tradition kingship is universal; but of course the earliest traditions scarcely reach beyond the time of King Wermund. For Continental nations however much earlier information is available from Roman sources. According to Tacitus some tribes were under kingly government in his time, but in general his account gives the impression that he regarded the kingly *ciuitas* as somewhat exceptional. To turn to specific cases we are told (*Germ.* 42) that the Marcomanni and the Quadi had formerly been under kings of their own native stock, though now they were ruled by aliens. The reign of Maroboduus goes back to the time of Augustus[1], while the first reference to the Quadi (*Ann.* II. 63) is in connection with a king of that tribe. The Hermunduri were under a king named Vibilius in the time of Tiberius and Claudius (*Ann.* II. 63, XII. 29), and the Semnones under a king named Masyus (?) in the time of Domitian (Dio Cassius, LXVII. 5). For the Langobardi we have no evidence, as might be expected from their remote position; but according to their own traditions they had been under a long line of kings reaching back almost to the time of their first (legendary) migration. On the whole then there can be no doubt that kingly government was the type which prevailed among the Suebic tribes. According to Tacitus (*Germ.* 43)

[1] In the Res Gestae D. Aug., cap. 32, mention is made of *reges...Marcomanorum Sueborumque complures.*

the Goths and other north-eastern tribes also were ruled by kings.

With the tribes of western Germany the case is not so clear. Apart from the Burgundians, who had migrated from the east, and Suebic peoples, such as the Alamanni, we have, so far as I am aware, not more than six references to kings dating from before the fourth century, viz. Italicus and Chariomerus, kings of the Cherusci (Tacitus, *Ann.* XI. 16; Dio Cass., LXVII. 5), Verritus and Malorix, kings of the Frisii (*Ann.* XIII. 54), Maelo, king of the Sugambri (Res Gest. D. Aug. 32), an unnamed king of the Bructeri (Pliny, *Ep.* II. 7), and Ariouistus, who may have belonged to the Suebi. Elsewhere we find mention only of *duces* and *principes*. The *dux* was a military leader in time of war; the *principes* were persons who acted as magistrates (*ius dicere*) in districts and villages, and who were elected at tribal assemblies. It is probable from Tacitus' account of the *principes* (*Germ.* 13 ff.) that the *dux* would, as a rule at least, be drawn from among them[1]; but whether the rank of *princeps* itself was limited to certain families or open to all free tribesmen is a question upon which different views have been held. All that can be said with certainty is that it is never stated of any *princeps* that he was not of noble birth; but the amount of information which we possess about such persons is after all extremely slight. An exception may perhaps be made in the case of the Cherusci, who enter a good deal into Roman history during the early years of the first century. A number of their *principes* are known by name, and it is curious to note that all of them belonged to one or other of two families, the relationships between the various members being as follows[2]:



It is nowhere stated that Segimerus the brother of Segestes was identical with Sigimerus the father of Arminius; but the

[1] Among the Old Saxons in later times the military leader was chosen by lot from among the *satrapae*; cf. Bede, H. E. v. 10.

[2] cf. Velleius, II. 118; Strabo, p. 291 f.; Tacitus, *Ann.* I. 55, 57, 71.

identity of the names suggests that the two families may have been related. If so, one could hardly help suspecting that the form of government which prevailed among the Cherusci was really a kind of dynastic rule, such as we find in later times among the Franks and in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. Moreover this suspicion is fully confirmed by the fact that in the negotiations which led to Italicus being made king his family is described as *stirps regia* (*Ann.* XI. 16). It is highly probable therefore that the kingship to which Arminius aspired and which Italicus succeeded in obtaining was not a new institution. The case of the Cherusci may possibly have been exceptional; but it is at all events worth noting that the *principes* of the Chatti intermarried with those of the Cherusci[1] and that the Bataui, who according to Tacitus (*Germ.* 29, *Hist.* IV. 12) were an offshoot of the Chatti, are likewise said (*ib.* IV. 13) to have possessed a *stirps regia*. On the whole then, especially when account is taken of the fact that among the Franks kingship can be traced back to the fourth century, it seems difficult to avoid the conclusion that the distinction drawn by Tacitus between *reges* and *principes* was based not on a contrast between kingship and 'republicanism' but on the presence of one or more ruling princes within the same tribe[2].

At all events we have seen that kingship prevailed among the Suebic tribes which lay to the south of the region inhabited by the Angli and also probably among the Cherusci, the eastern-most tribe of western Germany, as well as among the Goths and other peoples of north-eastern Germany. Scandinavian tradition, as we have already observed, knows no other form of government. Lastly, we hear of kings also among the Cimbri[3] who invaded Gaul and Italy two centuries before Tacitus' time. It is decidedly probable therefore that the same type of government prevailed among the Angli and the neighbouring tribes at the very beginning of the Christian era.

The evidence of folk-tales, whether German, Norwegian or Lithuanian, goes much further than this. In them we find

[1] cf. Strabo, p. 292; Tacitus, *Ann.* XI. 16.

[2] cf. Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, IV. p. 184 ff.

[3] cf. Orosius, V. 16; Plutarch, *Marius* 25.

kings everywhere, and consequently their territories seem to be extremely small. Now in Norway we do actually find, even in historical times, kings like Sigurðr Sýr, who were persons of comparatively little importance. The eight kingdoms in the Throndhjem Fiord, mentioned in Haralds Saga hins hárfagra, cap. 7, must obviously have been very small. In Prussia we have from King Alfred (*Orosius*, I. 1. 19) contemporary evidence for a still more surprising state of things. The merchant Wulfstan told him that in Estland (East Prussia) there were very many fortified places (*byrg*) and that in each of these there was a king. If such a state of things ever prevailed in South Jutland it would of course afford an explanation of the large number of royal families which that region appears to have possessed. The vassals and officials of various degrees whom we find holding land as grants from the kings will then have taken the place of local and more or less independent chiefs, just as in later times we find earls set over provinces which had formerly been independent kingdoms both in England and Norway. There is some difficulty however in reconciling such a view with the account of the Teutonic *ciuitas* given by Tacitus. It is to this subject that we must now turn our attention.

Tribal assemblies.

We have seen that after the king or kings the most important political element in the migration period was the *þeod*, which appears to have been a body of warriors, old and young, attached by personal service to the king. It consisted partly, but only partly, of members of the royal family; indeed its members were not necessarily born subjects of the king. In Tacitus' works we find mention of bodies, the *comitatus* of kings and *principes*, which apparently resembled the *þeod* in all respects. But in addition to these we hear also of *concilia* or tribal assemblies which seem to have been very much larger bodies. Tacitus deals with these *concilia* at some length (*Germ.* 11 f.). He says that they met at certain fixed times, that they elected the *principes* and settled disputes, and that with them rested the ultimate decision on all questions of great importance. The *principes* discussed beforehand what matters should be brought before the *concilium*; but it can hardly be maintained that the *concilium* consisted only, or even chiefly,

of the *principes* and their personal followers. For we are told (*Germ.* 13) that it was at these assemblies that youths were admitted to the rights and privileges of warriors. The initiation was performed sometimes by a *princeps*, sometimes by the youth's father or relatives—a fact which clearly implies that the rights of a warrior were obtainable without admission to a *comitatus*. So also in *Germ.* 7 Tacitus states that when the tribe was called out to war, the line of battle was arranged according to families and kindreds. It is plain then that though a military system similar to that which we find in English and Scandinavian records did exist it by no means pervaded the national organisation to the same extent.

Special attention deserves to be paid to the somewhat subordinate position apparently occupied by the king at these assemblies. The presidential functions seem to have belonged to the priests. At the taking of the omens indeed, which probably preceded the meeting, we are told (*Germ.* 10) that the tribal high-priest (*sacerdos ciuitatis*) was accompanied by the king or *princeps*. But when the assembly actually met it was the priests who opened the proceedings by enjoining silence (*ib.* 11). Again, Tacitus states that freedom of speech was allowed, though qualified by the rank or reputation of the speaker; but none except the priests had power to enforce obedience. So also when the tribe went out to battle (*ib.* 7) the priests accompanied it, taking with them certain divine symbols from the sacred groves, and it was they alone who then had the power of inflicting summary punishment on offending tribesmen —the idea being, as Tacitus says, that this was done not at the bidding of the general but at the god's command. We may further note that on at least one occasion (*Ann.* II. 12; cf. *Hist.* IV. 14) when a call to arms had been raised the tribes met in a sacred grove. Where the regular assemblies were held we are not explicitly told; but there is every probability that the same places were chosen, for it was with these sacred groves that the priests were specially associated[1].

[1] cf. the O. H. Germ. gloss *parauuari—aruspes* (Graff, *Wörterbuch*, III. 344), which is in all probability related to Ang. Sax. *bearo*, 'grove' (O. Norse *börr*, Russ. *bor*'); perhaps also O. H. Germ. *harugara—aruspices*, from *haruc—lucus*, *nemus* etc.

Tacitus' account of the *concilium* may be, and often has been, illustrated from the descriptions of Swedish assemblies given in Rembertus' Life of St Ansgar, cap. 24, and in St Olaf's Saga (Heimskr.), cap. 80 f. In the former the king is represented as bringing before his assembly the question whether the introduction of Christianity should be permitted. Previously to doing so he goes out with his nobles to cast lots. In St Olaf's Saga the king's policy is openly discountenanced by the assembly under the leadership of the lawman and he is compelled to change his attitude by threats of violence, remarking as he does so that it has been the practice of all kings of the Svear to give way to the wishes of the commons. It is not safe, as we shall see later, to assume that the old type of tribal organisation had been preserved unchanged in Sweden from the earliest times. But the Swedish evidence will at all events furnish a useful parallel to Tacitus' *concilium*.

One important difference between the two cases is that there is no reference to priests in the Swedish stories. We do occasionally hear of priests in the North, but there is no evidence whatever for believing that the persons so called were devoted exclusively to religious duties. In Norway it is abundantly clear that priestly duties and the possession of temples went with temporal authority, in the case of both earls and petty local chieftains, and the peculiar hierarchic magistracy of Iceland had the same origin. Above all we have no evidence for the existence of high-priests in the North. At public festivals the chief place always seems to have been taken by the king or the head of the community.

With this exception the Swedish assembly bears a close resemblance to the *concilium* of ancient times. Now it is worth noting that "the assembly of all the Svear" (*þing allra Svía*) mentioned in St Olaf's Saga coincided with the great spring-festival and that it was held at Upsala in the immediate neighbourhood of the national temple, as is shown by the statement that the crowd sat on the barrows. This fact tends to confirm the suggestion mentioned above that the ancient tribal assemblies of the Continent were likewise held in sacred groves and further that they were primarily religious festivals like those mentioned in *Germ.* 39, *Ann.* I. 50.

It is probable that the case of the Swedish assembly was somewhat exceptional in the North. In St Olaf's Saga, cap. 96, the king's councillors are represented as saying that the Uppland Swedes (*Uppsvia aett*) were the noblest people in the North because they were sprung from the gods themselves. In Saxo's account of the battle of Bravik nine Swedish warriors are specially said to have been descended from Frey (cf. p. 232), from which it appears probable that the claim to descent from that god was not limited to the royal family. Indeed if we are to believe the evidence of Ynglinga Saga the Swedish royal family of that date no longer claimed such descent. Now Tacitus' language seems to imply that among the ancient Germani similar claims were held by the tribe as a whole. We may refer to the genealogical remarks in *Germ.* 2 and the expressions *eiusdem sanguinis* and *initia gentis* in ib. 39. If so all free tribesmen would ultimately be of the same origin as the king himself. On the other hand it is by no means impossible that the genealogical references apply only to the tribal nobility, and in the case of the Ynglingar this explanation is distinctly more probable. In either case the comparative insignificance of the kingly office is to some extent accounted for.

When we turn to the Frankish and Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, which were of a far more autocratic character, we find no trace of such community of origin between the king and the tribe. The kingdom was inseparably bound up with the royal family, and the essential qualification for a king was that he should be descended from the founder of the dynasty. Such was the case with the Franks down to the time of Pippin and with the Anglo-Saxons until a much later period. It is frequently stated that kingship was of comparatively recent origin among the Franks, and as a matter of fact we find no mention of Frankish kings before the fourth century. But considering the paucity of our information for the second and third centuries this is altogether inconclusive. In the first century, as we have already seen, there is evidence for kings or *stirpes regiae* among several of the Rhineland tribes, the Bructeri, Sugambri and Bataui, the two latter of whom are generally recognised to have been of Frankish nationality. How the change in the character of kingship came about is not quite

clear; but we may surmise with some probability that it was due partly to the disappearance of the nobility and partly to the extension of the territories ruled by the kings. The evidence at our disposal seems to point to a gradual consolidation of small tribes into larger units, with a corresponding increase in the influence of the rulers—a process which was no doubt considerably facilitated by the straitened position in which the Franks found themselves through pressure from the Saxons. In England the same process took place, but in very much later times. Here however kingship of a more or less autocratic type seems to go back as far as our records reach. It is true that there is only one family of which we can say with certainty that it was of royal rank before the invasion. Of the other families all that we know definitely is that they claimed divine descent—in most cases from the god Woden. But is there any valid reason for supposing these families to have been originally of non-royal rank?

Teutonic kingship.

In order to be able to form an opinion on this question it will be well to consider briefly what were the characteristics of a king according to ancient ideas. Perhaps the simplest definition is that he was a member of a royal family invested with some degree of authority, while the claim to royalty on the part of the family was derived from time beyond record and based, at least in England and the North, on divine descent. It need hardly be pointed out that a king was not necessarily independent. But, further, it was not essential even that he should possess land of his own. This may be seen from a passage in St Olaf's Saga (Heimskr.), cap. 4, where it is stated that sea-kings regularly bore the royal title if they were of kingly birth, even though they governed no territories. It is even possible in view of the Russian word *knjaz'* that the notion of authority was not originally essential and that the word *cyning* was once equivalent to *cyneboren mon* ('man of royal birth') and applied to all members of the royal family. Such an explanation is favoured by the fact that *cyning* is in form a patronymic and perhaps originally meant 'son of the family.' It may not be a word of very great antiquity. The Gothic language, and perhaps

also the Burgundian[1], used quite a different term, viz., *þiudans*, which in Anglo-Saxon has the sense of 'prince,' though it is frequently applied to kings. Again, according to a story in Yngl. S. 20 the word *konungr* was first used in connection with the family of Danr hinn mikilláti (cf. p. 150 f.). Before that time the title applied to the kings of the Swedes was *dróttinn*, i.e. Ang. Sax. *dryhten*, 'lord.' These words, *þeoden* and *dryhten*, are clearly derived from *þeod* and *dryht*, and neither of them contains any notion of hereditary qualification, like *cyning*. What word was used in Tacitus' time we unfortunately do not know. Yet in spite of these reservations the fact that the word *cyning* (*kuning*, *konungr*) is common to the English, German, and Scandinavian languages and was borrowed at an early date by Finnish, Lithuanian and Slavonic leaves little room for doubt that it had come into use before the invasion of Britain.

We have seen that it was not necessary that a king should possess territories of his own. But though this was the case with kings individually we have no evidence for kingly families which did not possess territories. Their territories might be very small, so small that we should probably speak of the owners as chieftains rather than kings. I doubt very much whether Tacitus would have applied the term *rex* to the 'kings' of the Este (Aestii) described by King Alfred. Still the fact remains that, so far as we know, all royal families did possess territories of their own, and we can scarcely doubt that this was one of the qualifications for kingship. But on the other hand all owners of territories did not claim royalty. We may note especially the case of the earls of Lade, who ruled a large portion of Norway for over a century and a half. Occasionally they were dispossessed, but at other times they were entirely independent. When Earl Hákon and Harold (Grenski) divided Norway between them in 975, it was the latter only who took the title of king; yet the former was by far the more important person. The explanation is that Harold belonged to the royal family, whereas Hákon's ancestor, Hákon the son of Griótgarðr,

[1] cf. Ammianus Marcellinus, XXVIII. 5. 14: *apud hos* (sc. *Burgundios*) *generali nomine rex appellatur hendinos* (for *theudinos*?).

had only received his territories as an earl's fief from Harold the Fair-haired. Even when Viking chiefs settled in foreign countries, Russia, Normandy and the British Isles, the same distinction was observed. Those who belonged to royal families bore the kingly title, while those who were not of royal birth were known as earls, though they might be more powerful than the others. That the same feeling prevailed in England seems to be shown by the fact that Aethelred of Mercia and the rulers of Bamborough did not take the kingly title. Its existence however is a distinct argument for believing that all the founders of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms claimed to be of royal descent.

The question which we are discussing has an important bearing on the organisation of the nation as a whole. It is commonly assumed that before the period of autocracy a more or less democratic form of government prevailed, the chief power being vested in a tribal assembly similar to Tacitus' *concilium*. But it is to be remembered that there is absolutely no positive evidence for the existence of such a system among the Angli and, further, that the first appearance of kingship has been erroneously dated by constitutional historians. It is true that in the Sweden of the eleventh century we do find a somewhat remarkable parallel to the German *concilium* of Tacitus' time. Further, we need not doubt that the Angli also had tribal gatherings of their own, in addition to the festival of Nerthus in which they participated with other tribes. The question at issue is with regard to the character and the object of these gatherings. Now it is worth noting that the earliest references which we have to the assembly of the Swedes do not suggest that it was of the character which we find in St Olaf's Saga. Thus in Yngl. S. 38 we are told that Braut-Önundr, the great-grandson of Aðils, had 'district-kings' (*heraðskonungar*) under him in many parts of Sweden. "Tiundaland was ruled by Svipdagr the Blind. There lies Upsala, where the assembly of all the Svear is held. Great sacrifices were then held there, to which many kings resorted. That was at midwinter." In cap. 40 similar statements are repeated. In cap. 42 we find Granmarr, king of Södermanland, visiting Upsala, 'as was

customary,' at the time of the spring sacrifice and consulting the oracle as to his future. A reminiscence of such visits is probably preserved in Adam's statement (cf. p. 266) that all the kings and peoples of Sweden sent offerings to the great nine-yearly sacrifice at Upsala. It is quite possible that these national gatherings were known as *allra Svía þing* even in the time of Önundr, but the tradition gives us no ground for believing that they were then of the democratic character which we find them possessing in the eleventh century. They would seem rather to have been religious gatherings of hereditary local chiefs with their followers. There is surely no improbability in supposing that the tribal gatherings of the Angli may have been of a similar character.

We have now seen that, though the Swedish assembly of the eleventh century apparently resembled the German *concilium* of Tacitus' day, this resemblance largely disappears when we get back to the seventh century. In place of a popular assembly we seem to have a religious gathering of 'district-kings' in dependence on a supreme king. But we have yet to notice that Tacitus himself has something to say about the Swedes (*Suiones*) and that he specially excepts this nation from his general description of Teutonic political organisation. "They have respect also for wealth," he says (*Germ.* 44), "and so the government is vested in the hands of one man—no longer have we any reservations to make—whose claim to obedience is beyond question[1]." He then goes on to mention another point in which the Swedes differed from the rest of the Germani, namely that it was not lawful with them to carry arms in public; they were kept locked up in the charge of a slave[2]. This goes a good deal beyond anything recorded in heroic tradition, but it strongly recalls the legends of the mythical peace-kings Frey and Fróði.

Unless Tacitus' statements are to be discredited, for which there is no justification, the political system of the Svear in his

[1] *est apud illos et opibus honos, eoque unus imperitat, nullis iam exceptionibus, non precario iure parendi.*

[2] *nec arma ut apud ceteros Germanos in promiscuo sed clausa sub custode et quidem seruo, etc.*

day differed essentially from what he seems to regard as the normal type. But if we take his evidence for the Teutonic nations as a whole there is no difficulty in tracing the sequence of the various forms of government. We begin with the tribes of the Rhineland: here we find *stirpes regiae*, but very few actual kings; the *concilium* seems to be the centre of authority. Next we come to the Frisians, with kings who can scarcely be called kings, and to the Cherusci, where kingship is intermittent. Next the Suebi, where kingship is constant and, if we may judge from the history of Maroboduus and his successors, not entirely impotent. Beyond them we come to the Goths, where kingship is of a somewhat stricter form. Indeed 'obedience to kings' is noted by Tacitus as one of the salient characteristics of the north-eastern tribes in general[1]. Lastly, when we reach the Svear we find absolutism. The farther we proceed from the frontier, the more primitive—degraded according to Tacitus' ideas—are the forms of political organisation which we meet with. It is a natural inference that kingship was once universal and, if we may trust Greek and Roman analogies, a trace of it may be preserved in the *sacerdos ciuitatis*. We may further note that in Gaul also kingship had once been general, though in Caesar's time it survived only among the Belgae. Greek and Roman tradition will supply further illustrations; but these reflections lead us beyond the bounds of our subject.

The causes which led to the temporary decline of kingship in the west cannot adequately be discussed here[2], but we need not doubt that it was connected, as elsewhere, with the separation of political from religious authority. Divisions in the political power would naturally serve to increase the influence of the *concilium*, which was at first probably an essentially religious gathering like those in the North; and this influence in turn tended to preserve the tribe from actual disintegration. But the *concilium* itself could hardly have existed under such conditions, had not the tribe possessed a common hierarchy. Again, the tribal unity,

[1] *Germ.* 43: *omniumque harum gentium insigne rotunda scuta, breues gladii et erga reges obsequium.* It is perhaps worth noting that this feature is here associated with weapons of an archaic type (cf. p. 305).

[2] The possibility of Gaulish influence is perhaps to be taken into account.

such as it was, presented ambitious princes from time to time with the opportunity of restoring monarchy—a course to which the conditions of the migration period were exceptionally favourable. But it must not be assumed that all the kingdoms of this period had passed through the same stages of development. Even where a distinct order of priests is found it may have arisen at different times and through different causes.

With regard to the Angli[1], we have seen that geographically they occupied a position probably nearer to the Frisians than to the Swedes (Svear). But it is to be remembered that their affinities lay with the Baltic and that their religion and oldest traditions were closely connected with those of the Svear—a fact which renders it probable that their political organisation also was originally of the same type. Its form in Tacitus' time can only be conjectured; but having regard to the zones we should most probably expect it to be intermediate between the Swedish and Gothic types. Again, from the very beginning of historical times we meet with a system in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms which may be described as more or less autocratic. Traditions which go back to the fourth century give no hint of a different type of government. Taking these various considerations into account I think there is little likelihood that the intervening centuries witnessed either kingless government or a tribal assembly similar to the German *concilium*.

Divinity of kings.

We have noticed above that among the Northern peoples, including the Angli, the claim to royalty seems to have been based on divine descent. It was thought formerly that such claims were necessarily fictitious—that the god's name was prefixed to a known line of ancestors in order to gain additional distinction for the family. Recent researches in Greek and Roman tradition however have tended to throw

[1] The Angli possessed a distinct order of priests in the seventh century; but the little information which we possess about these persons (cf. Bede, H. E. II. 13) suggests that their position differed somewhat from that of the ancient German priests. They seem to have been more definitely subject to the kings—especially as contrasted with the priests of the Burgundians (cf. Amm. Marc. XXVIII. 5. 14). Further, there is no evidence in England for the existence of a hierarchy, or even a sanctuary, common to the whole nation.

doubt on the necessity of this explanation. In certain cases the god's name may have been added or substituted for another. Thus, as I have suggested elsewhere[1], Eyvindr in his poem Háleygiatal may have substituted Othin and Skaði for Hölgi and Thórgerðr Hölgabrúðr. But in general there seems to be no adequate reason for doubting that, on certain occasions at least, men might be called Othin (Woden), just as they were called Zeus, Jupiter or Saturn.

In other cases again we have to take account of the deification of human beings. This principle is recognised by Adam of Bremen who says of the Swedes (IV. 26) *colunt et deos ex hominibus factos* and refers to the Life of St Ansgar (cap. 23) where the deification of a king named Ericus is described. According to Landnámabók, I. 14, a certain Grímr, the ancestor in the fourth generation of an Icelandic settler, was worshipped after his death under the name Kamban. Such cases are probably to be compared with the family cults of the Prussians, mentioned by Lasicius[2]. The worship paid apparently to Skiöldr-Scyld and certainly to Frey may have arisen, in part at least, from the same principle. In illustration of the latter case we have already cited the story of Halfdan the Black (cf. p. 252). Reference may also be made to the account of Olafr Geirstaða-Alfr who is expressly said to have been worshipped *til árs*[3].

But it was not only after death that kings acquired characteristics which we should regard as divine. We have seen above that the kings of the Swedes were credited, like Frey himself, with the power of controlling the harvest and that they were liable to be sacrificed in time of famine. Similarly, Ammianus Marcellinus, XXVIII. 5. 14, states that the kings of the Burgundians were deposed according to national custom if the crops failed or if the course of war proved disastrous. What steps were taken by such persons in order to promote the fertility of the fields we are not told. But we have seen that

[1] Folk-Lore, XI. 292, note.

[2] Respublica Poloniae etc. (Leyden, 1642), p. 280: *sunt etiam quaedam ueteres Nobilium familiae quae peculiares colunt deos, ut Mikutiana Simonaitem, Michelovicianа Sidzium, Schemietiana et Kiesgaliana Ventis Rekicziovum, aliae alios.*

[3] Fornmanna Sögur, X. 212; Flat. II. 7.

the famine in Olafr Trételgia's time was attributed to the fact that that king was not given to *blót*, and I have already suggested that this word may mean not so much sacrifice to the gods as the performance of certain magical ceremonies for the production of rain and sunshine, such as we discussed in an earlier chapter (p. 238 f.). Even the gods are represented as occupying themselves with *blót* (Yngl. S. 2, 4, 5, 8, 11 ff.). So of the legendary king Aun it is stated (*ib.* 29): "he was a wise man and much given to *blót*; he took no part in military expeditions, but governed his territories." It is scarcely necessary to point out that this type of king, which is not uncommon in the earliest traditions, presents the most striking contrast to the kings of the age of national migrations.

When the large barrows beside the church at Old Upsala were opened it was remarked that, though rich in gold ornaments, they were found not to contain any weapons. Now Bede (H. E. II. 13) states that the priests of the Angli were not allowed to carry weapons—from which it has been inferred that the graves at Upsala were those of the guardians of the temple. Nothing could be more probable; but, unless Northern tradition is wholly misleading, the chief guardian of the temple (*vörðr véstalls*) was the king himself. We may note that Frey also is said to have been without weapons.

Bede does not explain why priests were not allowed to carry weapons. An explanation however seems to be offered by Tacitus' account of the festival of Nerthus, where it is stated that all iron was put away so long as the goddess was enjoying human society. Since it was apparently owing to the presence of the divinity that weapons were put away, we may probably infer that the priests were prohibited from carrying weapons because they were in constant attendance on the deities. If we are to credit Tacitus' statement regarding the Swedes it is difficult to see how this custom also can be explained otherwise. The neighbourhood of the king may have been regarded as a 'place of great peace' (*mikill griðastaðr*), which would again tend to show that the king was regarded as divine. No doubt his divinity was less than that of the deified departed; yet if he was both treated as divine and credited with divine properties

it is probable that he was regarded at all events as more than human. This is a phenomenon for which analogies are to be found in many parts of the world, as Mr Frazer has shown.

It may of course be urged that Tacitus' account is not really parallel to the story of Frey, that in the one case it is the ruler who is without weapons, in the other his subjects. This is doubtless true; but it is surely no fatal objection to connecting the two phenomena, for we have already (p. 253 ff.) seen reason for suspecting that the king was originally the husband of the goddess and that his own divinity was secondary. In Tacitus' time the change may not have taken place. The position of the kings of the Svear may really have been analogous to that of the priest of Nerthus, so far as one can compare small theocratic communities with a large religious confederacy of distinct and distant tribes. Yet the fact remains that in both cases the goddess was ultimately forgotten and her place taken by a divine or semidivine king. On the whole then it will scarcely be going too far to characterise the difference between the migration period and the preceding age—so far at least as the more northern nations are concerned—by the statement that in the former the king was the descendant of a god, while in the latter he was a god himself.

Social organisation.

The above discussion has led us to conclude that political organisation of some kind goes back far beyond the age of national migrations. Just as we find a number of tribes joining together in religious confederacies, so we need not hesitate to believe that the tribe itself was made up of a number of local communities under chiefs of their own, each of whom probably possessed a stockaded village where he practised *blót* and administered justice under his sacred tree. The question whether such persons were really chiefs of clans is one which the evidence at our disposal will scarcely enable us to answer. We need not hesitate however to believe that organisations of kindred formed an influential element in society. Indeed Tacitus' statements (cf. p. 312) seem to indicate that among some of the Germani at least their importance was greater than in later times.

Agnatic relationship.

It is a much more difficult matter to form a clear idea as to the nature of these organisations. According to the prevalent view the Teutonic family system was mainly agnatic from early times. Cognates did share in the payment and receipt of wergelds, though in many laws in less proportion than agnates. It was to the latter however that the guardianship of women and minors belonged, and it was through the male line that the possession of property descended. In some laws, e.g. the Lex Scania Antiqua, we find, as Mr Seebohm has pointed out[1], evidence for a system similar to that of the Welsh *gwely*, according to which a man's property was divided first among his sons, then among his sons' sons and then again among their sons. In its simplest form, viz. the division of a father's property among his sons, this system is widespread. Among the Franks and Anglo-Saxons we frequently find it applied even to the kingdom. Succession in the male line occurs everywhere. Among the Franks, Burgundians, Danes and Swedes we can trace it back to the fifth century, among the Angli even to the fourth.

Now it is manifest that any such system of succession must be bound up to some extent with marriage customs of the Deega type. It is not necessary that the wife should actually enter the establishment of the husband's family, though this does occur sometimes, as in the Skaane code mentioned above. But it must have been the normal practice for the married couple to take up their abode in the village or on the property of the husband's family; and that is as a matter of fact what we regularly find in England and, speaking generally, in all Teutonic nations within historical times. Moreover there are two common varieties of marriage which are hardly compatible normally with any other principle than the Deega. These are marriage by purchase, in the strict sense, and marriage by capture. The latter is found in all Teutonic nations, but it is at least doubtful whether one would be justified in regarding it as the regular custom anywhere. Marriage by purchase appears in its crudest form in Kent, where wives would seem to have

[1] Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law, pp. 23 ff., 279 ff.

been bought much in the same way as slaves or cattle[1]. For the rest of England we have unfortunately little evidence; but purchase seems to have prevailed, at least in Wessex (cf. Ine 31). There is no doubt also that it was the custom among several Continental nations, especially the Langobardi, the Burgundians and the Old Saxons[2]. More than one passage in Saxo's History points to its former prevalence in Denmark, though elsewhere in the North it seems to be hardly known. Cases where the price was paid to the bride herself, which we find both on the Continent and in the North, and cases of the so-called 'symbolical purchase,' which prevailed among the Franks, are both usually regarded as survivals of real purchase; but they are sometimes capable of a different interpretation.

In this connection there is one practice which deserves special attention, viz. the marriage of a brother's or father's widow. The former is found especially in the North, the latter in England and among the Warni. Again this practice has clearly some bearing on the regulations laid down in the Lex Saxonum (§ 42) with regard to the guardianship of widows. The guardian, who is the person entitled to the bride-price if the widow marries again, is (1) her stepson or, failing him, (2) the brother or (3) the nearest male relative of the deceased husband. It need scarcely be pointed out that such customs as these assume the prevalence of Deega marriage. Further, we may note that practices of this kind are apt to be associated with a degraded position of women. Such was the case with the heathen Prussians, among whom we have evidence both for marriage by purchase, and for marriage of a widow by her husband's son and brother[3]. In Dusburg's Chronicle[4] it is stated that the Prussians in accordance with ancient custom

[1] We may refer especially to Aethelberht 31, the simplest meaning of which is that the adulterer must supply the husband whom he has wronged with a new wife. Another interpretation is however possible, viz. that he is to be responsible for the cost of a second marriage (cf. Hazeltine, *zur Geschichte der Eheschliessung nach angelsächsischem Recht*, p. 24 f.).

[2] cf. Hermann, *zur Geschichte des Brautkaufs*, p. 22 ff.

[3] cf. Michov in Grynaeus' *Nouus Orbis Terrarum* etc. (Basel, 1537), p. 519: *apud quos* (sc. *Samagittos*) *licitum erat uni uiro plures habere uxores et patre mortuo nouercam fratreque glotem in uxorem accipere.*

[4] Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum, I. 54.

were wont to buy their wives for a fixed sum of money. "Hence he treats her like a slave and does not sit at table with her. She washes the feet both of members of the family and of strangers daily." Again, in a document of 1249[1] we are told that "when a father has bought a wife with *pecunia* which belongs jointly to him and his son, it has been customary up to now that on the father's death the wife should fall to the son, just like any other property which has been acquired out of the common fund. But in order to prevent men from claiming their step-mothers for the future they have (now) promised neither to buy nor sell wives." The wife therefore was really a chattel here, as the Kentish laws also seem to imply. The practice of suttee which we know to have prevailed not only among the Slavs[2] but also among some Teutonic peoples, especially the Heruli[3] who were probably near neighbours of the Angli, may be interpreted as pointing in the same direction.

There can be no doubt then as to the prevalence among the heathen Teutonic peoples of agnatic organisation with its concomitants, Deega marriage and probably also a very subordinate position of women in the household. But the questions we have to consider are whether this system was universal and whether it goes back to a period beyond the recollection of our earliest documents and traditions. Now Tacitus states (*Germ.* 19) that if a woman committed adultery it was usual for her husband to expel her from home. Again, polygamy was known (*ib.* 18), as among the heathen Prussians and the Scandinavians also in later times, though it was exceptional and limited to persons of high position. In general however it cannot be said that Tacitus' account points to a degraded position of women, but quite distinctly to the contrary. His remarks on the subject of the marriage contract (*Germ.* 18) cannot, as they stand, be interpreted to prove the prevalence of purchase. If such really was the custom in his time, as is commonly assumed, our author

[1] cf. Hermann, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

[2] cf. Bonifacius, *Ep.* 72; Thietmar, *Chron.* VIII. 2.

[3] cf. Procopius, *Goth.* II. 14. I have elsewhere collected some evidence for the prevalence of the same custom among other Teutonic peoples (*The Cult of Othin*, p. 42 ff.).

must either have received incorrect information, or else he must have greatly misunderstood his informants.

Traces of cognation.

Again it appears from another passage (*Germ.* 20) that the constitution of the family was by no means so predominantly agnatic as in later times. "Sisters' sons receive as much consideration from their uncle as from their father. Some even regard this relationship as closer and more sacred than the other and attach more weight to it when taking hostages, the idea being that the fidelity of their dependents will be more effectively secured thereby and at the same time a wider circle of relatives brought under control[1]." The plain meaning of these words is that the bond between mother's brother and sister's son was in general held to be as close as that between father and son, and though custom did indeed vary in this respect the variation took the form of regarding the former relationship as more binding. Now there is evidence from many parts of the world for the growth of the agnatic bond at the expense of that between cognates, while the reverse process is seldom or never found. It is a natural inference therefore from Tacitus' language that a change of this kind was taking place among the Teutonic peoples of his time and that it was as yet by no means complete. The statement which follows, that a man's property passes at his death to his children or, if there be no children, to his brothers, father's brothers and mother's brothers, can hardly be held to invalidate this interpretation. All that may fairly be inferred from it is that the agnatic principle had obtained the upper hand in regard to succession, especially when the deceased had left children. Quite possibly however the vague expression *fratres, patrui, auunculi* may be founded on variations of custom, in cases where a man died childless, which Tacitus did not think it worth while to specify.

We must conclude then that the few sentences which Tacitus devotes to the social organisation of the Teutonic peoples present not inconsiderable difficulties to the hypothesis that the agnatic system which we find prevailing in later times was

[1] *sororum filiis idem apud auunculum qui ad patrem honor. quidam sanctiorem artioremque hunc nexum sanguinis arbitrantur et in accipiendis obsidibus magis exigunt, tamquam et animum firmius et domum latius teneant.*

of very great antiquity. These difficulties however are substantially increased by the evidence of the Lex Salica, a body of laws which both from its antiquity and its comparative freedom from Roman influence deserves careful consideration. Now there are three Titles in the Lex which have an important bearing on social organisation. The first of these, Tit. XLIIII (*De Reipus*), deals with the regulations for the re-marriage of widows. The price to be paid by the bridegroom is three solidi and one denarius, a remarkably small sum, it will be observed, as compared with the corresponding amount specified in the Lex Saxonum, viz. 300 sol. The persons qualified to receive the price are stated to be (1) the eldest son of the widow's sister, (2) failing such, the eldest son of her niece, (3) the son of her *consobrinus* (*consobrina* according to other MSS.) on the mother's side, (4) her mother's brother, (5) her deceased husband's brother, but only if he is not to succeed to the inheritance. It scarcely needs pointing out that this scheme is based on an entirely different principle from that of the Lex Saxonum. The very trifling sum specified is often interpreted as an instance of 'symbolical' purchase. But it is difficult to see how this can be the case, since it is to be paid to the widow's own relatives[1]; even when these are wanting, the husband's heirs are directly excluded. Again, within the widow's own family preference is given to those of a younger generation and, most remarkable of all, the persons qualified to receive the 'price' are probably all related to the widow only in the female line[2].

Tit. LIX (*De Alodis*) gives a list of the various persons qualified to succeed to the property of a childless man. Though there is much textual divergence the persons specified according to the best readings seem to be (1) the mother, (2) brother and sister, (3) mother's sister. The last clause adds that no inheritance in land is to pass to a woman, and it has been supposed that this represents primitive custom, while the former clauses

[1] In Tit. LXXI, which occurs only in Cod. I and II, there is mention of a payment to the relatives of the deceased husband; but this Title is in all probability a later addition.

[2] For a fuller discussion of this subject see Howitt, *Proceedings of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science*, Melbourne, 1901, p. 321 ff., where affinities with Australian (aboriginal) custom are pointed out.

are due to recent innovations. But, apart from the fact that an innovation on behalf of the mother's sister is contrary to all analogy, this hypothesis is open to the objection that in the century before Clovis' time the territories occupied by the Salii had almost wholly changed. The conditions therefore were such as would be favourable to military tenancy of some kind, and evidence to this effect may perhaps be obtained from Tit. LXXVIII, an addition dating from Chilperic's reign, which seems to indicate that it had been the custom until then for the lands of a man who left no sons to pass to the *uicini*. But, whatever may be the explanation of the last clause, the Title as a whole is clearly difficult to reconcile with agnatic organisation of the family[1].

Tit. LVIII (*De Chrenecruda*) is unfortunately rendered very difficult by the extraordinary variety of readings presented by the different MSS. The matter treated in the Title is as follows. In heathen times, if a man guilty of homicide was unable to pay the whole amount required by law, he was to enter his house and throw earth from its four corners over his nearest relatives, in order apparently that further responsibility might devolve upon the latter. The first relatives mentioned are the mother[2] (or the father or both according to different MSS.) and the brother. Next, according to the great majority of the MSS., come the mother's sister and her children. Then follows a difficult passage, which has been much discussed, with reference to the participation of further relatives on the mother's or father's side or both according to different MSS. Codices 1, 2 and 11 omit mention of the mother's sister and her children, and it has been suggested, though with little probability, that the former has crept in from Tit. LIX. It is surely far more reasonable to suppose that the words in question have been dropped from the three codices, especially as there is a close affinity between Cod. 1 and 11. In regard to Cod. 2, where *filius* which cannot be correct by itself is preserved, no other explanation seems to be admissible. But if the words *soror*

[1] For a fuller discussion of this subject see Dargun, *Mutterrecht und Raubehe*, p. 61 ff.

[2] Cf. the obscure passage relating to the receipt of wergelds in Tit. CI.

matris etc. did stand in the original text there can be little doubt that the true reading in the preceding sentence is *mater*.

Taking these passages as they stand, it seems to me difficult to reconcile them with any system of social organisation which can properly be called agnatic. On the other hand it is not a purely cognatic system, for in Tit. LVIII we do find mention of agnates, though apparently after the cognates. Again, it is to be remembered that the regulations in Tit. LIX are expressly said to apply only to those who have no children. I think that some semblance of a rational scheme may be obtained from the Lex if we may take it as a general principle that the persons on whom property, rights and obligations devolve are supposed to be living more or less together. But if so it is clear that the form of marriage which prevailed when these customs originated must have been of the Beena type. So far as I can see, it is hardly possible to explain otherwise the mention of the mother's sister in Tit. LVIII and LIX and the whole series of relatives given in Tit. XLIIII. In that case we must of course assume that both the typical childless man of Tit. LIX and the typical man of Tit. LVIII are unmarried. But is this really improbable? A more serious difficulty perhaps is raised by the reference to the children in Tit. LIX. According to our hypothesis the inheritance should come only to daughters and unmarried sons, while married sons would receive their portion when they left home.

But I am not prepared to maintain that any such consistent system existed at the time when the Salic Law was first committed to writing. At all events it is clear from the extraordinary variety of readings, particularly the substitution of male and agnatic for female and cognatic relatives, which we find even in the earliest MSS., that the original provisions soon became unintelligible. Yet the fact that such substitutions were required in itself goes far towards showing that the social organisation of the Franks must originally have been of a wholly opposite type to that which we find in later times.

Of course the fact that unmistakable traces of cognatic organisation appear both in the Lex Salica and in Tacitus' works does not prove that this system was formerly common to all Teutonic peoples, for Tacitus' information was probably derived

from the tribes of western Germany. It is not likely that these tribes had passed from agnation to even partial cognation; but there is doubtless a possibility that differences of this kind had prevailed from very remote times. The laws of the various Suebic nations, the Alamanni, Bavarians and Langobardi, present but few traces of cognatic organisation as compared with the Lex Salica. But it is to be remembered that the laws of these nations date from a considerably later period than the latter—from a time indeed when Frankish society itself was quite definitely agnatic. If we had earlier evidence for Suebic society we might find a different state of things. As a matter of fact the only case of succession to a Suebic kingdom of which we know in early times is that recorded by Tacitus, *Ann.* XII. 29 f., where the king of the Quadi is displaced by two sons of his sister.

In most of the Scandinavian laws also agnatic relationship is preferred, e.g. in the payment and receipt of wergelds. But here again it is to be remembered that these laws are very late. Sometimes we hear of grandfathers' grandfathers and cousins in the third and fourth degree, from which it has been inferred that Scandinavian society was organised in large agnatic kindreds. But even if this be so it ought not to be assumed that such organisations must have been of great antiquity. Some explanation at all events is required of the fact that they figure so little in the sagas, whether legendary or historical. There is no evidence that they were ever such perfectly organised bodies as the clans of Scotland and Ireland. Yet in Scotland paternal succession was not introduced into the royal family until the ninth century, while in Ireland also, where it is much older, there are distinct traces of the opposite system.

For marriage by purchase we have but little evidence in Scandinavian literature or tradition. In succession sons were preferred before daughters in the time of the laws. But, failing sons, daughters succeeded; and it is clear from the sagas that this was the case as far back as the ninth century. Moreover, in heathen times not only estates but temples and religious duties[1] were inherited in the same way. When we get

[1] Cf. Landnámabók, v. 8, where it is stated that an Icelander named Loptr used

back to the eighth century we constantly find the kingdom passing to daughters' sons and even to daughters' husbands. As an example of the former case we may note that according to both Saxo and Old Norse works Harald Hildetand and his successors all came to the Danish throne through Harald's mother, though the accounts differ in other respects. Halfdan the Black succeeded to the throne of Agðir through his mother and his son Haraldr to that of Sogn in a similar way[1]. Indeed instances are quite frequent. One case occurs even in Beowulf, where the hero himself obtains the throne by right of his mother. For the acquisition of the throne by marriage we have instances in Yngl. S. 38, where Halfdan Hvítbeinn marries the daughter of Eysteinn, king of Heiðmörk, and receives a large portion of that district; *ib.* 51, where Halfdan's son, Eysteinn, marries the daughter of Eirikr, king of Vestfold, and succeeds him; *ib.* 41, where Hiörvarðr marries the daughter of Granmarr, king of Södermanland, with a view to succession. We may also refer to Saxo's stories of Gram and Sigtrugus (p. 17 f.), of Omundus and Ringo (p. 266 f.) and of Snio (p. 281 f.), where the kingdom is acquired by killing the king and marrying his daughter. Unsuccessful attempts of a similar character are recorded by the same writer, pp. 35, 45.

It is in regard to succession through females that Scandinavian custom differs most perhaps from English and Frankish custom. According to the latter if a king left no son he was succeeded by his brother or other male agnatic relative, sometimes quite remote. In the North however we never, so far as I am aware, hear of a daughter being passed over in favour of a more distant relative in early times. If we may trust the traditions of Ivarr Víðfaðmi and his family, the daughters' descendants even preserved the family name (*Skiöldungar*).

But beyond all this we sometimes find daughters' husbands receiving a share in their fathers' kingdoms even when there are sons. Such is the case with Heiðrekr in Hervarar S. ok

to go to Norway every three years to offer sacrifice, both for himself and his mother's brother, at a temple which had been in the charge of his mother's father. For this reference I have to thank Miss B. S. Phillpotts.

[1] Saga Halfdanar Svarta 1, 3.

Heiðreks, cap. 10. In Yngl. S. 53 we are told that when Guðröðr, king of Vestfold, married Alfhildr, daughter of Alfarinn, he received half of Vingulmörk as her dowry. Sigurðr Hringr, who married another member of the same family, likewise called Alfhildr, is also said to have obtained territories in this region[1]. In Skiöld. S. (Sögubrot) 5 a king named Hildibrandr, who had a son and a daughter, is represented as advising his son to give his sister in marriage to some distant prince and not to grant her territories in his kingdom. In Saxo's History (p. 224) we find an adventurer named Ebbo demanding the hand of the daughter of Unguinus, king of the Götar, and half the kingdom as a dowry, though Unguinus had a son. From Frá dauði Sinfiötla it appears that Borghildr, the wife of Sigmundr, had territories of her own, although she had a brother.

These examples will be sufficient to show that Beena marriage plays a decidedly important part in Northern tradition. In particular we may note the history of the Ynglingar during the five generations preceding Harold the Fair-haired. During the time specified members of this family, which is said to have come from Sweden, are represented as obtaining at least six provinces in Norway through marriage, viz. Sóleyiar, Heiðmörk, Vestfold, Vingulmörk, Agðir and Sogn. In most of these cases there seems to be no adequate ground for doubting the truth of the tradition.

It would certainly not be correct to deny the existence of agnatic succession in Norway at this time, for we have no trustworthy examples of sons being passed over in favour of daughters. Evidence to this effect is to be found only in folk-tales[2]. But tradition does seem to take us back to a stage intermediate between the two systems, when the two sexes had equal rights in succession. Moreover there is evidence for another custom which supplies the exact correlative to that which we have been discussing. According to William of Jumièges, I. 4 f., it was usual for Scandinavian chiefs to keep only one of their sons at

[1] Cf. Skiöld. S. (Sögubrot) 6, 10; Haralds S. hins hárfagra (Heimskr) 14. For this example I have to thank Mr A. Mawer.

[2] Cf. K. Pearson, *The Chances of Death* etc., II. p. 58 ff.

home and to send out the rest to seek their fortune elsewhere. We need not suppose that such persons intended to spend their whole lives in piracy. Far more probably they would be ready, like Olaf Tryggvason, to settle down whenever a favourable opportunity presented itself. William's statement refers of course to the Viking Age, but the traditions preserved in the sagas leave us no room for doubting that the custom had prevailed from early times.

Again, it is worth noticing that it appears to have been an extremely common practice in the North to send one's children to others, to be brought up. Very frequently they were sent to the mother's relatives. Such was the case for instance with Ólafr Trételgia and his son Halfdan Hvítbeinn. In Haralds S. Hárf. 21, we are told that Harold had many wives and numerous children and that all the latter were brought up at their mothers' homes. It seems not unlikely that this custom may have some connection with the intimate relations between mother's brother and sister's son noted by Tacitus. The very frequent practice of naming a child after its mother's father or brother may also be taken into account.

We may now sum up briefly the results of our discussion. There seems to be no evidence for believing that a purely agnatic system ever prevailed in the North, while the farther we go back in native tradition the more prominent become the traces of the opposite system. This fact, taken together with the clear evidence of the Lex Salica and Tacitus' notice of the succession to the throne of the Suebi, surely gives us good reason for suspecting that the change from cognation to agnation among the northern and western Teutonic peoples was not of any very great antiquity. Indeed it is by no means improbable that the transition was taking place in Tacitus' own time as his remarks in the Germania suggest. The process may of course have occupied many generations, but it is only reasonable to suppose that it took place later in the north than in the south. After all our earliest trustworthy evidence for succession in the North does not go back beyond the fifth century.

Among the Angli, as we have seen, the evidence for succession from father to son goes back a century earlier than

among the Swedes and Danes. Apart from this however we have extremely little information regarding the social organisation of early times, a fact which it is always well to keep in mind. Thus, in contrast with the system prevailing in the North, cognate relatives seem to have been entirely excluded from the succession. But in the light of the illustrations given above is it not possible, for example, that Aethelfrith may have derived some claim to the throne of Deira through his wife? Again, we hear sometimes of kings being succeeded by cousins of the fifth and sixth degree. Yet it is difficult to avoid suspecting that their succession may have been facilitated by nearer relationships through the female line, which happen not to have been recorded. No doubt such relationships were disregarded in later times. But the strength of the agnatic principle may have grown with time. Again, it is generally believed that agnates were preferred before cognates in the receipt and payment of wergelds. But here also the evidence, such as it is, does not go back beyond the tenth century.

It is certainly worth noticing that in the earliest records which we possess women of high rank seem to hold a very important and influential position. This feature is often ascribed to southern and Christian influence; but if so it is not a little remarkable that it is much more prominent in the seventh century than in the eighth or ninth. Thus we find Eanfled, the wife of Oswio, pursuing a very independent line of action within half a century of the conversion, while Cynwise, the wife of the heathen king Penda, would seem to have been acting as regent in her husband's absence, perhaps like Hygd the wife of Hygelac. Above all, Seaxburg, the wife of the convert Coenwalh, is said to have occupied the throne herself after his death. Bede's account of St Aethelthryth shows that queens had estates and retinues of their own; and this custom also must go back to heathen times, for the first reference that we have to Bamborough, the chief residence of the Northumbrian kings, is the statement that it was given by the heathen king Aethelfrith to his wife Bebbe[1]. Such cases may have some bearing on the custom of marriage between stepson and stepmother. It

[1] Hist. Brit., § 63; such gifts were customary also in the North; cf. Yngl. S. 17.

has been pointed out above that this form of marriage is sometimes associated with a very degraded social position of women. But we must not assume that it was necessarily due to such conditions. Quite different causes may have produced the same result, e.g. the desire to prevent property from passing by re-marriage out of the possession of the sons.

If the regulations contained in the Kentish laws regarding the purchase of wives reflect general Anglo-Saxon custom—which after all is somewhat uncertain—we shall have to conclude that the position of women in the higher and lower ranks of society differed greatly. But this difference may really be due to a deterioration in the position of the latter. The invasion itself might naturally be expected to have such an effect, for there can be little doubt that at first a considerable proportion of the women were taken from the native population. Moreover it is worth noting that those continental nations for which there is the clearest evidence for marriage by purchase, namely the Old Saxons, the Burgundians and the Langobardi, were likewise all settled in conquered territories. That they were much mixed with the native populations may be inferred from the fact that in each of these cases the language of the invaders perished within a few centuries of the invasion.

It may perhaps be urged that the possession of influence by women does not necessarily hang together with a cognatic system of society. Certainly among primitive peoples the condition of women may be extremely bad under such a system, while on the other hand in highly civilised society women may hold a very influential position under a purely agnatic system. But the society of the times with which we are dealing belongs to neither of these categories. It is clearly to be compared rather with that of the Homeric Greeks, where again the same phenomenon is prominent. But there is some reason for believing that Greek society of that age was in a state of transition from cognation to agnation. This being so it is worth while to carry our investigations somewhat farther back in order that we may be able to avail ourselves of the earliest evidence on the subject.

Now it has already been observed that according to Tacitus

autocracy prevailed among the Swedes (Svear), the most remote with one exception of all the peoples of 'Suebia' mentioned by him. The most remote people of all however are called Sitones, and of them he says (*Germ.* 45) that they resemble the Swedes in every respect except that they are governed by women[1]. Beyond autocracy then we come to gynaecocracy. It is generally thought that the Sitones—whose name is not known elsewhere—may have been of Finnish rather than Teutonic nationality[2], and as a matter of fact we have no clear evidence for the existence of any Teutonic peoples beyond the Swedes. But, whatever the language which they spoke, Tacitus' words clearly give no countenance to the idea that they belonged to a wholly different circle of civilisation from the Swedes.

There is a passage however in Tacitus' Histories, IV. 61, which is free from any doubt on this score. In his own time a maiden belonging to the Bructeri, Veleda by name, had held a wide sovereignty "in accordance with the ancient custom of the Germani, which makes them regard most women as endowed with the gift of prophecy and, as their devotion grows, even as goddesses[3]." She lived secluded in a tower and gave answers by means of one of her relatives *ut internuntius numinis* (ib. 65). We may compare Germ. 8, where it is stated that armies had often been prevented by women from taking to flight. For there was nothing that the Germani dreaded more than that their women should be captured. So strong was this feeling that there was no more effective way of ensuring obedience than by having girls of high birth included among the hostages, "for they believe them to possess some sacred and prophetic property, and neither scorn the advice which they tender nor treat their answers with neglect[4]." It scarcely needs pointing out how

[1] *Suionibus Sitonum gentes continuantur: cetera similes uno differunt quod femina dominatur.*

[2] The suggestion that Tacitus' account arose out of a misunderstanding of the name *Kvena land* (cf. the *patria, terra feminarum* of Adam of Bremen, III. 15, IV. 19) need hardly be discussed here.

[3] *ea uirgo nationis Bructerae late imperitabat, uetere apud Germanos more, quo plerasque feminarum fatidicas et augescente superstitione arbitrantur deas.*

[4] *inesse quin etiam sanctum aliquid et prouidum putant, nec aut consilia earum aspernantur aut responsa negligunt.*

absolutely opposed is the view of women shown in this passage to that held by the heathen Prussians and probably also in Kent. We have seen above that some of the Germani apparently demanded the sons of chiefs as hostages, while others preferred their sisters' sons. Here we have a third variety which seems really to point to Beena marriage as well as cognation. At all events the various passages in which Tacitus alludes to the subject when taken together leave little room for doubt that the position of women in his day resembled that of the queens and princesses of the early Anglo-Saxon age rather than that shown in the Kentish laws. At the same time they afford an explanation of this position, namely that its origin is to be sought in religion.

Now it has been mentioned above that Tacitus attributes a good deal of power to the priests of the Germani. Caesar on the other hand has no reference to such persons and says explicitly (*Gall.* VI. 21) that the Germani had no *druides* to take charge of their religious rites. This statement is perhaps capable of more than one interpretation, and few modern writers are willing to admit that the priesthood can have grown up between the time of Caesar and that of Tacitus[1]. Yet there are certain facts which must not be overlooked. One of the most important of priestly duties was that of taking the omens. On state occasions this duty was performed by the *sacerdos ciuitatis* (Germ. 10); in the private household his place was taken by the *pater familiae.* But in Caesar's time on what must be regarded as a state occasion (*Gall.* I. 50) we find the same duty discharged by the *matres familiae.* Again, there can be no doubt that in Tacitus' time sacrifices, whether human or otherwise, were performed by the priests. Yet one of the very earliest notices of Teutonic religion which we have is the story preserved by Strabo (p. 294) of the white-robed prophetesses of the Cimbri who slaughtered and disembowelled the prisoners, prophesying victory to their own people[2]. There is good reason

[1] Strabo (p. 292) mentions a certain Λίβης τῶν Χάττων ἱερεύς in connection with the triumph of Germanicus (A.D. 17).

[2] Cf. Orkneyinga S. 8, where the mangling of the victim by the 'blood-eagle' rite is treated as a sacrifice for victory.

therefore for believing that several of the chief functions of the priesthood had in earlier times been discharged by women[1]. It is by no means improbable that the *sacerdos muliebri ornatu*[2] of Germ. 43 had taken the place of a woman.

The exercise of priestly functions by women was not unknown in the North[3]. In legendary sagas we find such duties performed especially by queens and princesses. Thus in Friðþiofs S. 9 the two queens are represented as warming and greasing the gods at a *dísablót*, a passage which—like the saga itself as a whole—by no means deserves the suspicion with which it is commonly regarded. So in Hervarar S. 1, the king's daughter is carried off while she is 'reddening' the shrines at a *dísablót* by night. But beyond this we have to take account of the very important part played in Northern mythology by certain classes of beings, the *nornir* and *valkyriur*, who are partly divine and partly human[4]. Just as the heavenly sanctuary with its world-tree is in all probability derived from earthly prototypes like that at Upsala[5], so we need not hesitate to believe that the *nornir* who dwell beneath the tree had a similar origin. It will be sufficient here to refer to the story of the three maidens given by Saxo, p. 181. Again, we have to remember that the ancients did not clearly distinguish between foretelling an event and bringing it to pass. The distance therefore between these mythical beings and the prophetesses of antiquity is not so great as might at first sight appear. On the other hand the same beings are very closely connected with the guardian spirits of families (*hamingiur*, *fylgiukonur*, *dísir*), in which much of Norwegian and Icelandic religion was centred.

[1] Other priestly duties may have been performed by the kings themselves, for there is no need to suppose that the separation of political and religious authority (cf. p. 319 ff.) was complete by Caesar's time even in the west.

[2] The theory that this expression refers merely to a mode of dressing the hair does not seem to me to have been established; cf. p. 225, note 2.

[3] Cf. Folk-Lore, XI. 297 f.

[4] For the *valkyriur* we may refer especially to the poem Sigrdrífumál. In England also the use of the phrase *wiccean and waelcyrian* would seem to show that they were regarded partly as human.

[5] Cf. *The Cult of Othin*, p. 75 ff.; Hermann, *Nordische Mythologie*, p. 592 ff.; R. M. Meyer, *Zeitschr. f. deutsche Philol.*, XXXVIII. 172 f.

If Thórgerðr Hölgabrúðr belonged to this class[1] the element of ancestor-worship was probably not entirely absent from such cults.

The above brief discussion will perhaps suffice to indicate that there are at all events some grounds for suspecting that the agnatic system of the Angli was of no great antiquity. To prove the prevalence of the opposite system would take us far beyond the limits of such a work as this—indeed with the evidence at our disposal it would scarcely be possible. But we have seen that there appear to be very distinct traces of cognation and Beena marriage to the north, south and west of the Angli, and further that the earliest available evidence for the various Teutonic peoples by no means points to a degraded condition of women. The gynaecocracy of the Sitones and the Bructeri may be a local and abnormal development[2], but its roots are clearly to be found in a peculiar religious position of women which, so far as I can see, is difficult to reconcile with the prevalence of Deega marriage.

Above all it is to be remembered that the evidence for the antiquity of the agnatic system is purely inferential. We know that paternal succession in the royal family prevailed among the Angli in the fourth century and among the Cherusci in the first century; but that is all. Have we any right to assume that the Angli were agnatic in the first century? At this time apparently their chief deity was a goddess. Now we find gods taking the place of goddesses, just as priests take the place of priestesses. This same goddess appears later in the North as a god, and her descendants, the Ynglingar, figure as an agnatic kindred. But what reason is there for supposing that they were agnatic when their deity was still female? Moreover we find in the traditions associated with this deity and her family the same feature which among the royal families of the ancient world, e.g. those of the

[1] Cf. Keyser, *Samlede Afhandlinger* (1868), p. 312 f.—a reference for which I have to thank Miss B. S. Phillpotts.

[2] It should be noted that Langobardic tradition begins with a woman, Gambara, who is represented, like Veleda, as both ruler and prophetess (Script. Rer. Lang. et Ital., pp. 2, 7 f.).

Egyptians and Carians, is believed to mark the transition from cognation to agnation, namely the union of brother and sister[1].

In conclusion we must notice two specific objections which may be raised against the suggestion that society remained cognatic until such a comparatively late period. One is that most English kings claimed direct paternal descent from Woden. But in order to make this argument available for proving that society was agnatic it must be shown that these kings claimed to be the successors as well as the descendants of the god, for the recognition of paternal ancestry does not necessarily involve paternal succession. We may note that according to Homer the Lycian king Sarpedon was a son of Zeus. Yet his title to the throne was derived from his mother and his mother's mother. Indeed it is of this nation that Herodotus (I. 173) states that descent was reckoned by the mother down to his own time. For a further analogy we may refer to the story of the origin of the Gauls given by Ammianus Marcellinus (XV. 9. 6). According to native tradition, he says, Hercules after slaying the tyrant Tauriscus, who had been oppressing Gaul, begat by noble women a number of children who gave their names to the regions which they governed[2]. This legend, it will be seen, is really quite compatible with the custom of the Picts, according to which the succession passed after brothers to the sisters' sons[3], while the king's father himself was probably always a stranger. It is not unlikely that in early times the king was not allowed to marry and have children which he could call his own, but that he had the right of intercourse wherever he wished. At all events this is what is stated of the king of the Hebrides by the

[1] Cf. White, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XVIII. 238 ff.; Ridgeway, *Praelections delivered before the Senate of the University of Cambridge*, Jan. 1906, p. 154 ff. For these references I have to thank Mr Frazer.

[2] *regionum autem incolae id magis omnibus adseuerant, quod etiam nos legimus in monumentis eorum incisum, Amphitryonis filium Herculem ad Geryonis et Taurisci saeuium tyrannorum perniciem festinasse, quorum alter Hispanias alter Gallias infestabat, superatisque ambobus coisse cum generosis feminis suscepisseque liberos plures et eos partes quibus imperitabant suis nominibus appellasse.*

[3] It is worth noting that what is probably the oldest Gaulish legend which we possess deals with a king of the Bituriges and his sister's sons (cf. Livy, v. 34).

Irish interpolator of Solinus[1]. The explanation may be that he was regarded as divine or semi-divine and perhaps, like Northern chiefs, as the husband of a goddess.

The second objection is the genealogy given by Tacitus, *Germ.* 2. The Inguaeones, Hermiones and Istaeuones are said to be descended from three sons of Mannus who was himself the son of the god Tuisto. Here, it will be observed, Mannus seems to correspond somewhat to the Gaulish Hercules[2]. The legend of three ancestral brothers is found in many parts of the world, and there can be no doubt, as we have seen, that the names Inguaeones, Hermiones and Istaeuones are of great antiquity. But the reference to *carmina antiqua* can hardly be held to prove that the genealogy in the form given by Tacitus was either ancient or widespread[3]. Indeed Tacitus was clearly not in a position to guarantee its antiquity, while the fact that Tuisto and Mannus are entirely unknown elsewhere—even in the Frankish genealogical text (cf. p. 208)—gives good reason for suspecting that they were by no means universally recognised. With regard to the brothers themselves we have seen that nothing is known of Istio, while of Irmin we can only conjecture that he was the person whom Tacitus elsewhere calls Hercules. Ing however was remembered in English tradition, which connected him with Denmark. It has been suggested (cf. p. 288 ff.) that he was an earlier form of Scyld-Skiöldr, the stranger who came to the Danes from an unknown land and married the goddess of Sjælland. In that case we are brought back to a primitive story of Beena marriage similar to what we see in the old folk-tale of Svipdagr and Menglöð. But whatever may have been the conception of Ing, whether he was

[1] Ed. Mommsen, p. 234 f.: *rex nihil suum habet, omnia uniuersorum, ad aequitatem certis legibus stringitur ac ne auaritia deuertat a uero discit paupertate iustitiam, utpote cui nihil sit rei familiaris, uerum alitur e publico. nulla illi femina datur propria, sed per uicissitudines in quamcumque commotus sit usuariam sumit. unde ei nec uotum nec spes conceditur liberorum.* Cf. Zimmer, *Sitzungsberichte d. k. preuss. Akademie d. Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1891, p. 286, note.

[2] Cf. the story of the origin of the Scythians given by Herodotus, IV. 8 ff.

[3] We may compare the two accounts of the origin of the Scythians given by Herodotus, IV. 5 ff., 8 ff., in both of which three ancestral brothers figure but which otherwise have little in common.

a god, or whether, as I am disposed to believe, the name was originally a title of the king of the Danes, or again whether, as many hold, the personification of Ing was quite late and derived from the name Inguaeones—the fact remains that our earliest reference to the peoples of the south western Baltic represents the cult of a goddess as their chief characteristic and as the bond by which they were held together. Further, that this cult was of an ancestral character is rendered extremely probable, as we have seen, by the analogy of the festival of the Semnones, by the association of the names *Niörðr* and *Yngvi* in Scandinavian tradition and above all by the English story of Scyld.

In Denmark itself, if we may judge from the silence of the native authorities, not only Ing but even Gefion seems to have been entirely forgotten. The kings traced both their ancestry and their title to Skiöldr, and even in Beowulf it is by Scyld's military prowess that the empire is built up. According to Skiöldunga Saga, Fróði, the Danish counterpart of Frey, was the grandson of this eponymous hero. But the beginning of all, according to Northern mythology, was the goddess Gefion who created the fertile land with her plough. Tacitus' notice shows that in the first century the cult of the island goddess was in full vigour. His description of her as Terra Mater may faithfully represent the conception of her which prevailed among the Northern peoples of his day. Our discussion however has led us to suspect that the origin of the cult, chthonic as it doubtless was, should ultimately be traced, not to a poetic personification of the earth, but rather to a power of controlling the earth's fertility with which human beings both in life and after death were credited and which was doubtless included among the supernatural properties attributed by the ancients to their women.

The investigation of the social organisation of the Northern peoples has been somewhat impeded in the past by the assumption that these peoples must have migrated at a comparatively late period from the steppes of southern Russia or western Asia, where they had dwelt formerly as nomad herdsmen. Now, thanks to archaeological researches, we are able to trace back the

inhabitants of the Baltic coasts and islands for thousands of years before the Christian era and to watch the growth of their civilisation from the stone age. Neither the discoveries themselves nor the earliest native traditions give any hint of a pastoral nomadic life—which indeed would be totally unsuited to a region composed very largely of islands and peninsulas; but on the contrary both point decisively to the antiquity of agriculture. In the eastern Mediterranean, where a similar course of development can be traced, the more primitive type of social organisation survived until the iron age was well established. Until definite evidence to the contrary is forthcoming it seems to me that there is a presumption in favour of believing that such was the case also in the North.

ADDENDA.

p. 4, note. Probably the name *Meanuari* denotes the inhabitants of the basin of the Meon; cf. the ancient Continental names *Ampsiuarii* and *Chasuarii* (from the rivers Ems and Hase).

p. 11, l. 22 ff. cf. Round, *The Commune of London*, etc., p. 4 f., where attention is called to the prevalence of the ending *-ham* in place names in the neighbourhood of rivers. It should be remembered however that this ending represents Ang. Sax. *ham(m)* as well as hām.

p. 38, note 4. From the words *Egfrid filius Osbiu regnauit nouem annis* in § 64 both Zimmer (p. 95 f.) and Thurneysen (p. 84) infer that an earlier text was composed in 679. This seems to me very doubtful, for the statement may quite well be due to a slight scribal error, *viiii* for *xiiii*. The latter figure would be correct since Ecgfrith reigned from 15 Febr., 671 to 20 May, 685.

p. 149, l. 19 ff. cf. Skaldsk. 64, where it is stated that Siggeirr, the son-in-law of Völsungr, and Sigarr, who hanged Hagbarðr, belonged to the same family (the Siklingar).

p. 155, l. 17 ff. cf. Round, *op. cit.*, p. 15 ff.

p. 158 ff. For the military organisation of the Anglo-Saxon period cf. Beck, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXI. 766.

p. 163, l. 8 ff. In illustration of the relations subsisting between king and council reference may be made to the interesting story told by Procopius, *Vand.* I. 22. In this case the decision of the king (Gaiseric) was thought ridiculous by all his men, but there is no suggestion that any opposition was offered.

p. 230, l. 34. The word 'extended' is open to objection, as the evidence (cf. especially such compounds as *Inguiomerus*, *Ingibrand*) does not seem to me to admit of certainty in regard to the original form of the name.

p. 231, bottom. Local and personal names compounded with *Frö-* (i.e. *Frey-*) are not entirely unknown in Denmark (cf. Petersen, *Ueber den Gottesdienst und den Götterglauben des Nordens*, Germ. Transl., pp. 31, 35), but their evidence is hardly conclusive. Of more importance is the fact that we find the cult of a god named *Proue(n)*—apparently the

Slavonic form of *Frey-r* or of Ang.-Sax. *frea*—among the Wagri of north-eastern Holstein (cf. Helmoldus, *Chron. Slavorum*, I. 53, 70, 84). It seems likely from the evidence that this cult was of local origin and derived from the previous inhabitants of the district. If so, we may perhaps most probably regard it as an independent development, though precisely parallel to the Swedish cult.

p. 239, l. 27 f. It is scarcely impossible however that the notice in the Indiculus Superstitionum (Mon. Germ., Leg. I. 19 f.) *De sulcis circa uillas* may have reference to some such custom. We may also refer to the semi-heathen rite described in Grein-Wülcker, *Bibl. der ags. Poesie*, I. 314 ff.

p. 248, l. 13 ff. The Benty Grange helmet is figured in C. Roach Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, II. 238 f.; the Vendel helmet and the Björnhofda plate in Sveriges Historia², I. pp. 192, 198 (fig. 210, 223); the Gundestrup bowl in S. Müller's *Nordische Altertumskunde*, II. Plate 2 and p. 161 ff. (fig. 100 and 102—104).

p. 268, l. 1 ff. Account should be taken however of the Slavonic cult of Proue; cf. the add. to p. 231 above.

p. 288, l. 19. Apart from Tacitus' remarks in *Germ.* 2, the fact that *Ing* (late Goth. *Enguz*) was used as the name of one of the letters in the Runic alphabet is an argument for believing that this person was known very soon after the beginning of the Christian era, if not earlier.

p. 313, l. 17. It is true that the Swedish king (Olof Skottkonung) mentioned in St. Olaf's Saga was a Christian, but the new religion appears to have obtained hardly any foothold in Svealand by this time.

p. 321, l. 14 f. According to Faereyinga S. 1, Grímr Kamban was a contemporary of Harold the Fair-haired and the first settler in the Faroes.

p. 337 ff. There is some ground for suspecting that persons similar to Veleda may have existed among the (presumably Celtic) inhabitants of Upper Bavaria in the bronze age. A barrow excavated at Mühlthal was found to contain the skeleton of a woman very richly apparelled and holding in her hand a staff or sceptre, the head of which was in the form of a wheel-cross. In the same barrow were found the remains of two other human bodies (without ornaments) and three wild boars, the latter of which, if not the former also, had clearly been deposited as sacrificial offerings, in some cases at a much later period; see Naue, *Die Bronzezeit in Ober-Bayern*, pp. 39 ff., 119—a reference for which I have to thank Miss B. S. Phillpotts.

INDEX.

Abingdon, Chronicle of 278, 281, 283 f.
Aelle (1), king of Sussex 2, 14 f., 87 f.
Aelle (2), king of Deira 10 f.
Aesir 240, 246.
Aestii 179, 248 f., 306, 316.
Aethelberht (1), king of Kent 1, 12 f., 17, 21, 37, 55 f., 189.
Aethelberht (2), king of East Anglia 120 f., 132.
Aethelfrith 10, 167, 335.
Aethelthryth 8, 335.
agnation 324 ff.
Agni 250 f.
agriculture 248, 254 f., 261, 263, 283, 305 ff.
Agðir 332 f.
Alamanni 81 ff., 138, 167, 178, 208, 216 ff., 221 f., 309, 331.
Alaric 174.
Alboin 18, 91, 132, 168, 174.
Alewih 128, 146, 150 ff.
Áli (1) 147.
Áli (2) 248 f. (see Onela).
allegiance 13 f., 166 ff.
Alokiai 194, 215.
Amlethus 133, 145, 165, 188.
Ampsiuarii 180, 301.
Angel 42, 52, 55, 104 ff., 128, 133, 135, 140, 144, 181, 184, 192, 205 f., 294.
Angeltheow 144.
Anglia Vetus 103 f., 275.
Anglo-Frisian languages 64, 99 ff., 141 ff., 203, 222.
Angriuarii 178, 195, 197, 209, 307.
Angulus 54, 103, 105, 192 (see Angel).
Annales Cambriae 14, 27.
Ariouistus 223, 306 f.
Arminius 226, 309 f.
armour 161, 187, 189 ff.
assemblies 154 ff., 172, 309, 311 ff.
Askold 175.
Athislus 122 f., 135 f., 138.
Aðils 18, 134, 146 f., 248, 250 f., 317.
Attila 131, 138, 173, 179.
Aun 322.
Avars 114, 178.

Batavi 110, 307, 310, 315.
Bavarians 81 ff., 208, 221, 331.
Bebbe 22, 335.
Beena marriage 330, 333, 338, 340.
Beo, Beaw 272 f., 291, 293 f.
Beowulf (1), king of the Götar 163, 166 ff., 172 f., 176, 180, 248, 332.
Beowulf (2), king of the Danes 273, 291 (see Beo).
Bernicia 10, 41, 183.
Bernician royal family 59 ff., 88, 145, 182, 269.
boats as sacred emblems etc. 239 f., 249.
Borghildr 149 f., 299, 333.
Boruhtwarii 90 (see Bructeri).
Bravík, battle of 94, 232, 314.
brooches 17, 75 f.
Bructeri 180, 195 ff., 220, 309, 314, 337, 340.
Burgundians 149, 174, 177 f., 199, 207 f., 219 ff., 309, 321, 324 f., 336.

Ceadwalla 4 f., 32, 180.
Ceawlin 5 f., 12, 14, 21, 23 f., 32 f., 88.
Celtic influence 190 f.
Celtic peoples 305, 307.
Cerdic 16, 20 ff., 47, 134, 156.
Chaibones 95.
Chamaui 195, 197.
Charoudes, Charydes 193, 211 (see Harudes).
Chasuarii 195, 197.
Chatti 116, 178, 196, 199, 207, 209, 215 f., 218, 221 f., 225, 229, 307, 310.
Chauci 95, 178, 195 ff., 201, 207, 209 f., 215, 221, 232, 257, 295 f., 307.
Cherusci 116, 195 ff., 207, 209, 215 ff., 218, 221 f., 225, 229 f., 233, 307, 309 f., 319, 340.
Chilperic 101, 107, 329.
Cimbri 193, 198, 201, 207 f., 209 ff., 295 f., 306 f., 310, 338.
Cimbric Peninsula 93, 193, 296.
Clovis 110, 329.
Coenwalh 3, 16, 335.
cognation 327 ff.
comites, comitatus (ancient German) 167, 311 f.
concilium 311 ff., 317 ff.
cremation 73 f., 244, 287 f.
Creoda 24, 33.
Cynewulf 26 f., 158, 165 f., 173.

cyning 315 f.
Cynric 20 ff., 47.
Cynwise 335.

Danelagh 83, 85.
Danish invasion 7, 11, 132, 159 f., 183 f.
Danish kings: see Alewih, Áli (1), Beowulf (2), Danr, Fróði, Hadingus, Halfdan (3), Haraldr (2), Heremod, Hiörvarðr, Hróarr, Hrólfr Kraki, Loðbrók, Sigarr, Skiöldr, Vigletus.
Danr 150 ff., 316.
Deega marriage 324 ff., 340.
Deira 10, 59 f., 172, 183, 269, 335.
Denmark 18, 52, 73, 75, 83, 125, 132, 149, 169, 230 f., 239, 289, 291, 314, 325.
dísir 339.
Dómaldi 251.
Dulgibini 195, 197.

Eadgils (1), king of the Swedes 18, 134, 146 (see Aðils).
Eadgils (2), prince of the Myrgingas 135 f., 167, 169.
Ealhhild 135, 138.
Eanfled 335.
Eanmund 168, 173.
East Anglia 7, 54, 59 f., 86, 160, 183, 269.
Edwin 12 f., 163, 189.
Eider 123 f., 128, 135, 139 ff., 203.
Elmet 182.
Engilin 112 f., 115.
Eomer 130 f., 144.
Eormenric 131, 135 f., 138, 147, 165, 167 ff., 179.
Eowa 164.
Erminus 208, 221 f. (see Irmin).
Essex 2, 34, 41 f., 54, 74 f., 86 ff.
Essex, dialect of 61, 70 f.
Essex, royal family of 59, 87, 302.
Este, Estland (see Aestii) 311, 316.
Eucii, Euthiones 97 f., 107.

festivals 224 f., 234 ff., 240 ff., 263 ff., 313, 317, 322.
Finn, son of Godwulf 40, 42, 270.
Finn, son of Folcwalda 52 f., 102, 166.
Folco 122.
folk-tales 303 f., 310 f.
Frankish genealogical text 208, 221, 225, 342.
Franks 17, 81 ff., 91, 93, 95, 99 f., 102, 110 ff., 145, 177 f., 180 f., 186, 208, 221, 300 f., 310, 314 f., 324 f., 330.
Freawine 21, 33, 122, 127, 133, 145, 269.
Frey 231 f., 240 ff., 271, 289, 314, 318, 321 ff.
Freyia 240, 246 f., 249 ff., 260 ff., 285, 289 f.
Fricco 245, 265.
Frisian language 62 ff., 67, 91, 93 ff., 142 f.
Frisians 17, 19, 52, 55, 81 ff., 163, 166, 195, 203, 206, 257, 297, 309, 319 f.
Frisonofeld 101.
Frið-Fróði 257 f.
Fróði enn friðsami (Frotho III) 150, 169, 257 f., 318.
Fróði enn frækni (Frotho IV) 146 f.
Frowinus, see Freawine.
fyrd 159 ff.

Gallehus, horns from 142, 187.
Gambriuii 208, 220, 223 ff.
Gauls 190 f., 304, 341.
Geat 40, 270 f., 293.
Geberich 136.
Gefion 258 ff., 283, 285, 289, 294, 343.
Gepidae 174, 177 f., 180, 208, 221 f.
German, St. 39, 50 f.
German language 63 f., 96, 101, 141 ff., 222 f., 316.
Gewis 21, 33, 36, 38.
Gildas 14, 27, 31 f., 41, 45 ff., 49 ff., 55, 184.
Götar 18, 107, 130, 173, 176, 270, 333.
Gothic language 64, 143, 222, 315.
Goths 135, 145, 174, 177, 181, 186, 207 f., 216, 219 f., 310, 319.
Grímr (Kamban) 321.
Gunnarr (Gundicarius, king of the Burgundians) 149, 168.
Gunnarr Helmingr 241 ff., 246, 253, 264 f.
Guorthigirnus 38 ff., 43, 50 (see Wyrtgeorn).
Guðröðr 333.
Gutones 199 (see Goths).
Gylfi 259.
gynaecocracy 337, 340.
Gyrwe 8 f.

Hadingus 232, 258.
Hadubrand 173.
Hagbarðr 146 f.
Haithaby 104 f., 275.
Haki 147, 149.
Hákon (Earl) 316.
Halfdan (1) hvítbeinn 332, 334.
Halfdan (2) svarti 252, 321, 332.
Halfdan (3), king of the Danes (see Healfdene) 146, 283, 299.
Hámundr 149.
Haraldr (1) Grenski 316.
Haraldr (2) Hilditönn 94, 332.
Haraldr (3), hinn hárfagri 317, 333 f.
Hardeland 214.

Harudes 193 (see Charoudes).
harvest ceremonies 237, 279 ff.
Healfdene 52, 146, 171, 283, 291.
Heardred 173.
Heathobeardan 147.
Heiðmörk 332 f.
Heiðrekr 175, 332.
Helgi (1) Hundingsbani 202, 298 ff.
Helgi (2), son of Halfdan 299.
Heligoland 93, 95, 99, 256 f.
Hengest (1) 35 ff., 103, 174, 184.
Hengest (2) 52 f., 166.
Hercules 228 ff., 341 f.
Heremod 148 ff., 165, 272 f., 291 ff.
Hermiones 199, 207 f., 215, 218, 220 ff., 229, 342.
Hermunduri 196, 199, 207, 215 ff., 308.
Heruli 95, 109 ff., 114 f., 138 f., 163, 165, 179 ff., 191, 199, 218, 326.
Hildibrand 173.
Hiltgund 138, 179.
Himmerland 214.
Hiörvarðr (Heoroweard) 165, 168.
Hiörvarðr Ylfingr 332.
Historia Brittonum 10, 33, 38 ff., 103, 142, 183, 192, 208, 292.
Hnaef 52, 140, 166, 171.
Holda 261 ff.
Holland 107, 109, 305.
Holstein 91, 105, 115, 124, 137, 141, 192, 199, 203, 210, 217.
Horsa 35 ff., 103, 174.
Hrethric 165.
Hróarr (see Hrothgar) 146, 189, 299.
Hrólfr Kraki 18, 134, 146 f., 166, 169, 189, 248, 299.
Hrothgar 52, 146, 157, 163, 165, 167 f., 176, 180, 188 f., 248, 289.
Hrothwulf 18, 134, 146 f. (see Hrólfr Kraki).
Huldr 164, 250 f., 254, 263.
Hundingr 298 ff.
Hunferth 163, 165.
Huns 131, 177 f.
Hwala 271 f., 293.
Hwicce 5 f., 59, 182.
Hygelac 18, 110, 130, 163, 167 ff., 335.

Ibor 174.
Icel 15 ff., 144.
Iceland 83, 231, 244, 256, 279.
Ida 10, 16, 41, 156, 183.
Ing 230, 287 ff., 295, 342.
Ing(w)- 226.
Ingeld 146.
Inguaeones 199, 207 ff., 215, 220 ff., 230 ff., 289, 295 f., 342.
Ingunarfreyr 231, 244, 252 f.
Inguo 208 f., 221 ff.
Ingwine 230, 288 f., 295 f.
Iörundr 147.
Ireland 19, 331.
Irmin- 226 ff., 342.
Irminfrith 92, 100, 110, 180.
Irminsul 103, 226 ff., 243, 297.
Isis 240, 249.
Istaeuones 199, 207 ff., 220 ff.
Istio 208 f., 221 f., 342.
Ívarr Víðfaðmi 165, 332.

Jællinge 122, 124, 193.
Jutes (Iutae, Iuti) of Britain 4 f., 28 ff., 52, 54 ff., 88 f., 90, 103 ff., 192, 294.
Jutes (Iuti) of Jutland 133, 163.
Jutland 52, 73, 94, 104 ff., 145, 192 f., 201 f., 215, 311.

Kent 1 f., 17, 35 ff., 54 ff., 77 ff., 84 ff., 102 f., 108, 172, 294, 324, 326, 336, 338.
Kentish dialect 61, 65 ff.
Kentish royal family 59 f., 156, 269.
Keto 122 f.
kindred 154 f., 323 ff.
Kragehul (deposit) 187.

Land, property in 168 ff., 328 f.
Langfeðgatal 125, 260.
Langobardi 91, 109, 115, 132, 174, 177, 179 f., 193 ff., 201 f., 205, 208, 216 f., 307 f., 325, 331, 336.
Leire 124, 133, 145, 259, 267.
Lex Angliorum et Werinorum 81 f., 108 f., 112 ff.
Lex Salica 81, 328 ff., 334.
Lex Saxonum 81 f., 325, 328.
Liimfjord 73, 214 f., 296.
Lindsey 8 f., 59, 269.
London 2, 17, 227.
Lothair 91, 111.
Loðbrók (Ragnarr) 183.
Lugii 194, 216, 219, 225.

Mannus 208, 219, 223, 342.
Marcomanni 178, 196, 216 f., 308.
Maroboduus 179, 196, 216 f., 223, 308, 319.
Marsi 208, 220, 223 ff., 229.
Maypoles, Maytrees 227, 236 f.
Mecklenburg 199, 210 f.
Mercia 6 f., 17, 54, 79 ff., 102 f., 118, 121, 156, 182.
Mercian royal family 15 ff., 59 f., 132 f., 156, 182, 192, 269, 308.
Merseburg (glosses etc.) 97, 141.
Middle Anglia 8 f., 17, 54, 86, 103.
Myrgingas 128, 135 ff., 167, 179.

Nerthus 116, 200 f., 206, 234, 239 f., 243 ff., 254 ff., 264 ff., 289 f., 294 ff., 317, 322 f.

Netherlands 107, 111, 113 ff., 137, 149, 181, 300 (see Holland).
Niörðr 173, 239 ff., 258, 290, 295.
Nordalbingi 91, 105.
nornir 339.
North Frisians 94 f., 99, 101, 142.
North Suabi 97 f., 101, 111 ff., 138 f., 203, 216, 218.
Northumbria 10, 53, 55, 79 ff., 85 f., 103, 119.
Northumbrian dialect 61, 65 ff.
Norway 75, 83 f., 109, 175, 213, 231, 241 f., 247, 256, 304, 311, 313, 316, 333.
Nydam (deposit) 142 f., 187, 191.

Obotriti 91, 104.
Octa 37, 40 f., 44, 46 f.
Odoacer 174, 180.
Offa (1), king of Angel 118 f., 121 ff., 147, 192, 203, 206, 300.
Offa (2), king of Mercia 7, 57, 119 ff., 131.
Oghgul 41, 52, 55, 103, 192.
Oisc (Aesc) 16, 35 ff., 44, 46 f., 156.
Ólafr Geirstaða-Alfr 321.
Ólafr Trételgia 251 f., 322, 334.
Ólafr Tryggvason 231, 241 f., 253, 334.
Old Saxons 54, 60, 64, 81 ff., 90 ff., 177, 181, 297, 325, 336.
Onela 167, 173.
Ongentheow 167, 169.
Önundr 317 f.
Oswald 13 f.
Oswine 173.
Oswio 13 f., 335.
Othin 148, 175, 240, 245, 258 f., 265, 270, 286, 321.
Óttarr heimski 246, 260.

Penda 6, 16, 134, 151, 159 f., 164, 335.
Perchta 262.
Picts 36, 39, 46, 50, 341.
pigs, sanctity attached to 246, 248 f.
plough ceremonies 238 f., 261 ff.
priestesses 241, 246, 338 f.
priests 234 f., 246, 249, 256, 312 f., 320, 322 f., 338.
principes 309 ff.
Prussian marriage customs 325 f., 338.
Prussian religion 243, 247, 254 f., 280 f., 321.

Quadi 217 f., 308, 331.

reeve 157.
Reiðgotaland 175.
Rendsburg 127, 136, 193.
Ringo 232, 332 (see Sigurðr Hringr).
Rollo 175.
Roricus (see Hrethric).
Rugii 172, 179.
Runic letters 142 f., 176.

sacerdos ciuitatis 312, 319.
Salii 329 (see Franks).
sanctuaries 178, 200, 224 ff., 229 f., 312 f.
Scadinauia 210, 212 f.
Scandinavian languages 62 ff., 142 f., 223, 316.
Scandinavian laws 83 f., 324, 331.
Sceaf 104, 133, 273 ff., 281 f., 290 ff.
Scedenig, Scedeland 259 f., 283, 291, 294.
Scotland 331.
Scyld 146, 178, 250, 271, 273 ff., 281 ff., 287 ff., 342 f.
Scyldungas, Scyldingas 283 f., 289, 294, 304.
Scylfingas 232, 250.
Seaxburg 335.
Seaxneat 59, 293.
seiðr 246, 251.
Semnones 178, 194 ff., 201, 211, 216 ff., 223 ff., 266 f., 307 f.
sheaf 275 f., 278 ff., 285.
Sigarr (Sigehere) 146 ff., 299.
Siggeirr 149.
Sigi 175.
Sigibert 91, 111.
Sigmundr 148 f., 299 f., 333.
Sigurðr (1) Fáfnisbani 148 f.
Sigurðr (2) Hringr (see Ringo) 232, 287, 333.
Sigurðr (3) Sýr 311.
Silingai 194, 219.
Sinfiötli 148.
Sinus Codanus 208, 210, 212 ff.
Sitones 216, 337, 340.
Sjælland 124, 151, 257, 259, 267 f., 283, 290, 294 f., 297, 302, 308, 342.
Skaane 124, 140, 259, 283, 290, 324.
Skandia 194, 260.
Skaði 258, 321.
Skialf 250 f., 254, 289.
Skiöldr (Scioldus) 138, 250, 258 ff., 282 f., 288 ff., 314, 342 f.
Skiöldungar (see Scyldungas) 259, 283 f., 332.
slaves 17 f.
Slesvig, province of 75, 94, 99, 124, 141, 181, 201 f., 206.
Slesvig, town and estuary 100, 104 f., 122, 124, 133 ff., 193, 275, 277.
social divisions 77 ff., 297 f.
Sogn 332 f.
Starkaðr 147, 189, 232.
stirps regia 310.

Suabi, Suaui (see Suebi) 91, 97 f., 100 f., 113 ff., 136 ff.
Suarines 198, 200, 234.
Suebi, Sueui (see Suabi) 96, 100 f., 174, 177 f., 181, 193 f., 197 f., 199, 201, 203 ff., 207 f., 215 ff., 220, 222 ff., 229, 240, 305, 307 ff., 319, 331, 334.
Sueuon 97.
Sugambri, Sygambroi 193, 195, 309, 315.
Surrey 2, 59.
Sussex 2, 14, 34, 41 f., 54, 74 f., 86 ff., 160.
Sussex, dialect of 61, 65 f., 71.
Sussex, royal family of 59, 87.
Swaefe (see Suabi, Suebi) 113 f., 128, 136, 204, 217.
Sweden 75, 109, 122 f., 134 f., 174 f., 212, 231 f., 242, 244, 250, 253, 256, 258 f., 266, 289, 306, 313, 317 f.
Swedish kings, see Agni, Aðils, Aun, Dómaldi, Gylfi, Iörundr, Ívarr Víðfaðmi, Olafr Trételgia, Onela, Ongentheow, Önundr, Vanlandi, Vísburr, Yngvi.
Sylt 99, 202.

Tamfana 225.
Tegneby (rock-carvings) 306.
Tencteri 178, 195, 306 f.
Teutoni (Teutones) 194, 199, 207 ff., 210 ff., 295 f.
Teutonoaroi 194, 198 f.
thegns 157 f., 161 f.
þeod 156 f., 303, 311, 314.
Theodberht 18 f., 97, 107, 178.
Theodric (1), king of the Franks 18, 91 f., 100, 179 f.
Theodric (2), king of the Ostrogoths 109, 111, 179.
Thor 245, 279, 287.
Thórgerðr Hölgabrúðr 247, 321, 340.
Thoringia 110.
Thorsbjærg (deposit) 142 f., 187, 189 f., 301.
Throndhjem 171, 231, 253, 311.
Thrytho 130 f., 133.
Thuringi 91 ff., 97, 110 ff., 172, 178 ff., 208, 301.
Thyland 214.
Tribal Hidage 6 ff., 11, 160.
Tuisto 208, 342.
Týr 289.

Uffo (see Offa) 122 ff.
Ullr 285 f.
Upsala 231 f., 245, 266 f., 313, 317 f., 322, 339.
Usipetes, Usipii 178, 203, 220, 225, 306 f.

valkyriur 285, 339.
Vandals 177, 181, 208, 220 ff.
Vandilii 199, 207 f., 219 ff., 229.
Vanir 240, 246, 254.
Vanlandi 251, 257.
Varini (see Warni) 198 ff., 207, 219, 234.
Veleda 337.
Vestfold 175, 332 f.
Vi (deposit) 187, 190.
Viggo 168.
Vigletus 122, 124, 132 ff., 144 f.
Vingulmörk 333.
Vísburr 250 f., 257.
Visigoths 177.
Völsungar 148, 175, 299.

Waegmundingas 169 ff.
Walthari (Waldhere) 138, 173.
Wanderer 170, 172, 176.
Warni 19, 109 ff., 139, 163, 179 f., 199, 256, 325.
weapons 161, 187, 190 f., 304 f., 318.
Weohstan (Weoxtan) 168, 172.
wergelds 77 f., 297 f.
Wermund 118, 122 ff., 147, 150, 182, 192, 308.
Wessex 3 ff., 20 ff., 54, 77 ff., 84 ff., 102, 182, 294, 325.
Wessex, dialect of 61, 64 ff.
Wessex, royal family of 32 f., 59 ff., 87, 133 f., 145, 182, 269, 272, 291 f.
Widsith 18, 102, 106, 113 f., 127 f., 132, 135, 137 f., 150 f., 153, 167 ff., 179, 189, 192, 204, 217, 277, 300.
Wig 21, 33, 133, 269.
Wight, Isle of 4, 20 f., 28 ff., 54, 103, 180, 294.
Wiglaf 169, 172.
Wigo 122 f., 133 f., 145 (see Wig).
Wihtlaeg 132, 134, 144 (see Vigletus).
Woden 21, 40, 60, 133, 189 f., 228, 269, 293, 308, 315, 321, 341.
Wulfstan 311.
Wylfingas 176.
Wyrtgeorn (Vurtigernus) 35 ff., 59, 174 (see Guorthigirnus).

Ynglingar 175, 231 f., 250 f., 295, 333, 340.
Yngvi 230 f., 299 f.
Yngvifreyr 164, 231, 244, 252 (see Frey).

CAMBRIDGE: PRINTED BY JOHN CLAY, M.A. AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

7/6 Zet 18035

The Times
(Book Club)